

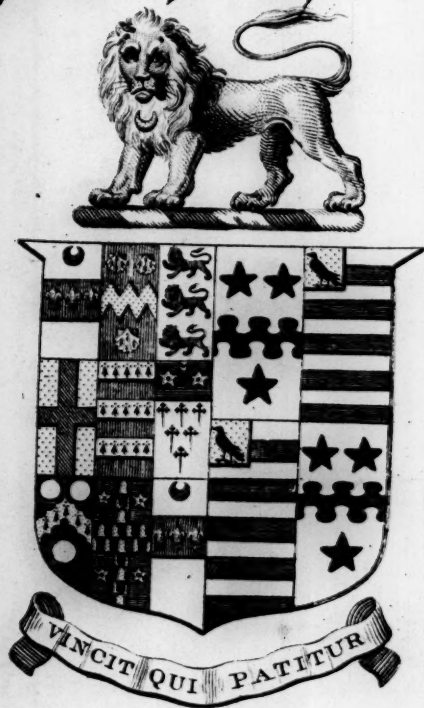
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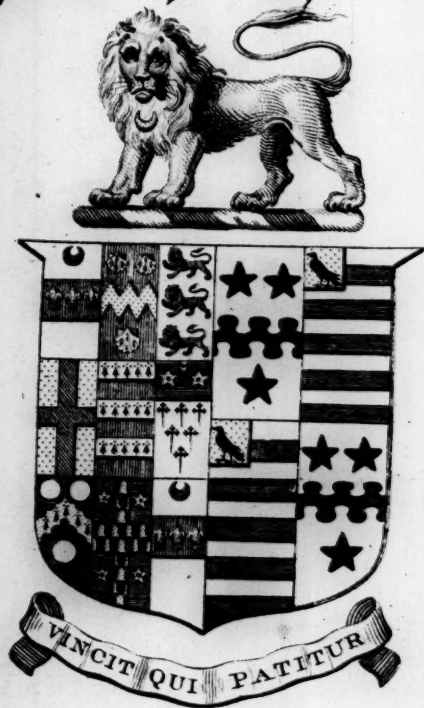
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A  
Compendious HISTORY  
OF THE  
Rise *and* Progreſs  
OF THE  
REFORMATION  
OF THE  
Church Here in *England*,  
FROM  
POPISH Darkness *and* Superſtition.

TOGETHER  
With an Account of NONCONFORMITY,  
and the Grounds thereof, ſince the ſaid  
REFORMATION.

ALSO  
King CHARLES II's Declaration about  
RELIGION, *October 1660.*

To which is added;  
A Brief Account of CATHEDRAL WORSHIP,  
with the RISE and ANTIQUITY thereof.

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By a GENTLEMAN. *Disney*

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L O N D O N: Printed for T. VARNAM and J. OSBORN  
at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Lombard-Street*; and R. ROBINSON  
at the *Golden-Lyon* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. 1715





# T H E P R E F A C E.



*W*HEN the greatest Part of these following Sheets was collected and brought into so narrow a Compass, they were not designed for Publick View: But hoping they may not be altogether unuseful, especially to those that have not Leisure for reading larger Treatises, and having refer'd herein to the Authors themselves, particularly to the Reverend Dr. Calamy's Abridgment, printed some Time ago, I hope they may be the more useful, by inducing those that have Time and Leisure for it to consult the Authors that are refer'd to; wherein they may meet with full Satisfaction as to the several Parts of this History, that are to be taken here only upon Trust; tho' I hope the

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Reader

## The P R E F A C E.

*Reader will find all that he meets with in these Sheets candidly and faithfully related.*

*IT is Religion itself in its Native Power and Purity, that is the Butt that has been all along shot at, and which the Lusts of Men have been spending their Arrows against in all Ages, since its first Appearance in the World, even from Cain down to this present Time. This Enmity against the Power and Purity of the Gospel, has been continued and carried on thro' the Sides of the Protestant Interest and Religion ever since the Reformation, in all the fierce and violent Oppositions against, and Assaults that have been made upon it, and upon the most Zealous and Serious Professors of it, of what Denomination soever they have been, whether Conformists or Nonconformists.*

*WHILST Men can rest and stay themselves barely upon an outward Profession of Religion, and bind themselves only with Bands of their own making, such a Religion will appear very natural and easie to them, they may therein gratify their own Carnal Interests, and rejoyce in the Light that is of their own kindling: But when they are confin'd within the Compass of the Divine Law, without any Mixtures or Additions to it of their own, that Self must be deny'd, and all they do must be commensurate with and regulated by the Divine Rule, as the Standard of it: This the degenerate and corrupt Nature of*



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*of Man will not so easily bear and yield to ; but like those Israelites, who when they were by the wonderful Appearance of the Divine Power on their behalf deliver'd from that Slavery, Cruelty and Bondage they were under in Egypt, and so comfortably fed and provided for under the Divine Conduct in their Way to Canaan, yet still in their Hearts are said to turn back into Egypt, and to be hankering after the Garlick and Onions there.*

*A N D that which was so much the Temper of those Israelites then, is the Temper and Disposition of too many now amongst us in this Nation, who take to themselves the Name of Protestants, and profess themselves Members of the Establish'd Church, and content themselves with the Name alone; whilst, it may be justly fear'd, (their Actions too clearly discovering it) that the detestable Religion of Rome, and that Popish Idolatry and Superstition, which they have profess'd to Renounce, is still in their Eye, and what is aim'd at by them. Some such amongst us have been too apparently endeavouring to reduce us back to Popery, by decrying so much and labouring to undo again what has been already so far advanc'd towards a more perfect and compleat Reformation; and have been using such Arts and Methods as were suitable and most conducing thereto. That Religion being framed and accommodated to gratify the Lusts of Men, by dispensing with the grossest Immoralities, and all Kinds of L'cenci-*  
*ousness,*

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ousness, and warranting the same, as consistent with Salvation, if they that are guilty of it will but take Care to humour the Priests, to pay well for those Indulgences they procure them, and to leave the Matter wholly in their Hands; which certainly would be the most likely Method to serve and promote the Devil's Interest, and to bring upon a People an Inundation of all Kind of Wick- edness and Prophaneness.

BUT tho' the glorious Work of Reformation, begun so many Ages since in the Church, and which was carried on so far by those excellent Men that were the first Reformers of it, has yet met with considerable Obstruction and Opposition; and those Endeavours that have been used to- wards the carrying it farther on, and compleating of it (which was from the first, design'd by de- grees to be done) have been so much obstructed since, as to render those Endeavours hitherto un- successful.

YET for ever adored be that Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, which hath notwithstanding, been so conspicuous in the Support and Preservation of our Pure and Holy Religion in this Nation, not- withstanding all the Difficulties it has met with: In raising up Instruments from Time to Time, in order to it, even when to Humane Appearance the Church, and Interest of Religion have been at the lowest Ebb.

AND

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*AND the same Divine Providence has been eminently manifested at this Time in particular, on the Behalf of this sinking Nation, by his Majesty's so seasonable, peaceable, and happy Accession to the Crown, whereby we have been rescued even from the Brink of Ruin, into which, to all Humane Appearance, we seem'd to be almost inevitably falling.*

*AND how much affected should we be with the Divine Goodness, that there is now before us so glorious a Prospect of his present Majesty's being made an Eminent Instrument in the Hand of Providence, of compleating what is yet wanting towards a more full and perfect Reformation, which was with so much Self-denyal, Courage and Zeal, maintain'd by some of his Royal Ancestors, who have appear'd so eminently in other Parts of Europe, for the Defence of the Protestant Interest.*

*AND to bring this Matter more entirely to our present Case and Circumstances in this Nation, it would now, again, be very seasonable to consider, of how great Advantage an Union among Protestants, professing the same Faith, and agreeing in all the Fundamentals of Religion, (tho' differing as to some Things of less Importance) would be likely to be towards the strengthening of that Interest: We may the more easily apprehend this, by considering the restless Endeavours*



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vours which our Enemies have all along used, either by their secret or more open Artifices and Contrivances, to divide us; and to foment, keep up, and widen those Divisions amongst us. Such an Union many Pious Men, both out of a Zeal for Religion and the Welfare of the Nation, have a great while earnestly desired. There was a Time when all Parties being in imminent Danger of being overtaken in the Common Destruction, there seem'd to be a very great Disposition towards it. The Establish'd Church shew'd herself willing to come to some Temper towards the Dissenters; and they (if some few Things they judg'd sinful, might be forborn) seem'd willing to comply with the present Constitution of the Church, for Peace sake. Had this happy Disposition in both Parties been then rightly improv'd, our Differences might e'er this have been comfortably compos'd: But alas! no sooner were our Fears blown over, by the happy Revolution, and the Accession of King William to the Throne, but that Inclination to an Union, in many too apparently abated. Some Attempts indeed quickly after the Revolution were made towards a Comprehension; but notwithstanding the Advantages of such a Comprehension, with a Toleration (exclusive of the Papists, the profess'd Enemies of the Protestant Interest and Government) that Noble Attempt was defeated, and all ended in a Toleration only; and how much that Toleration, of late Years, by such Methods and Arts as were before-mention'd, has been enervated and weaken'd again, is very  
apparent:



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*apparent : A Toleration is indeed that which the Dissenters have been truly thankful for, and joyful in ; but this alone has not been sufficient to heal the Wound, tho' it has skinn'd it over. Is nothing more to be done for the good of Religion and the Interest of the Kingdom ? Certainly there is ; and it is still our undoubted Interest to strengthen our selves against whatever farther Attempts may be made upon us, to Ruin our Religion and Destroy our Liberties : This, an Union among Protestants, would be one effectual Means to do, thereby twisting as much as may be the differing Interests of the Kingdom into one ; for what tends to the lessening our Breaches, and to the healing our Divisions, tends also to enable us to oppose the Attempts our Enemies may yet make, either to Destroy the one, or Ruin the other. How much therefore would the effecting of this Union be to the Interest of Religion, both at Home and Abroad ; and how much will it add to the Glory of his Majesty's Reign, to have it accomplish'd in his Time ; and how much will it be to the Honour of this Parliament, to be the Healers of our Breaches, from whom we may, thro' the Divine Blessing upon their Endeavours, promise our selves so much to be done towards the Disappointment of those Designs that have been so much invigorated and kept on foot by the Enemies of the Church ; will not after Ages, when they remember their Zeal for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and the Churches Peace, rise up and call them Blessed ?*

D I D

## THE PREFACE.

*DID our Dangers once make us so inclinable to unite? Let us not still be so secure, as to lay wholly aside the Thoughts of Danger, but be still endeavouring for, and pursuing such an Union, so greatly desirable; and if we may do it now less from a Principle of Fear than formerly, let it be endeavour'd from more noble Motives and Inducements to it.*

*HAVING sufficient Reason to believe his Majesty's Readiness to concur with us in every Thing that may be for our Good, and with all such Measures as are conducing to the Settlement and Establishment of the Church, to the promoting and strengthening the Protestant Interest, and to the Peace and Comfort of his People, who are also hearty in their Desires and Endeavours Faithfully to promote his Majesty's Service and Interest.*

*THE Design of these Papers are to Epitomize what has been writ more largely on this Subject; to give a Brief Account of the Reformation at first here in England, and of those Steps that have been taken towards the completing of it; from which Account herein given, there is abundant Testimony to evince, that what was then done was not designed to be the utmost Boundary of the Reformation; and that for such Reasons, as were at that Time given by some of those wise and learned Men.*

*I have*

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*I have added to this a Brief Account of Non-conformity, and the Grounds of it, with the Methods that have been proposed in order to the healing of those Wounds, which have been so long bleeding in the Nation.*

*T H E Reader will find subjoyned hereto the Declaration of King Charles II, relating to Religion, at his Restoration; the Perusal whereof may probably be acceptable to some that have not yet seen it. In which Declaration the Reader will find those Measures laid down, which, had they been answerably pursued, might have conduced so very much (as in all likelihood they would have done) to the uniting of Protestants in the Church, and a more firm and lasting Establishment of it.*

*A N D to conclude, If there were now a general Turning to GOD, if we were truly sensible of the crying Sins and Provocations which we in this Nation have been Guilty of, and of those Mercies and Deliverances which GOD has by his wonderful Providences from Time to Time brought about and wrought for us, so as to Return unto him with our whole Hearts: If we were as Zealous in pursuing the true Methods of imploring and obtaining the Divine Favour, as some are by their gross Enormities, in procuring his Displeasure; and were not only affected with, and deeply humbled for our own Sins, but for the Sins of others, this would give us a most encouraging Prospect, that those Clouds which our Sins have gathered,*  
*might*

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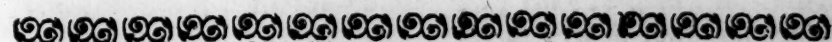
*might be dissipated, and we might hope to see the Gospel more successful, taking deeper Root, and shining in greater Power amongst us.*

*AND if by our own Unworthiness we do not render our Selves incapable of so great a Blessing ; we may reasonably hope that the same Divine Goodness, which by so many concurring and signal Providences brought the Gospel at first so early into this Nation, and hath by so many wonderful and remarkable Appearances of his Providence since on our Behalf, preserved and continued it hitherto, will still continue to us so great a Blessing, together with his merciful Compassion and Favour towards us ; whereby alone it is that we can hope to be secured from all the malicious, crafty and wicked Designs of our Enemies, and to be a flourishing and happy People.*



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to many Ages, almost ever since the Propagation of Christianity, and to every Part of the Christian World.



# A Compendious HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, &c.



**T**HAT Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the Nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions; and securing the Peace of every Man's Conscience, and of the Societies of Mankind in Common, is a Truth so plain, that without farther arguing about it, all will agree to it. Every Part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main Ends of it; and since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper Way that ever was, for the advancing the Good of Mankind, nothing can be a Part of this Holy Faith, but what is proportioned to the End for which it was design'd. And all the Additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at the first View, that they were intended to serve Carnal and Secular Ends, in some respect or other; as will manifestly appear in the following Account of the Original and Progress of that Mystery of Iniquity, which hath now for

so many Ages, almost ever since the Propagation of Christianity, overspread so great a Part of the Christian World; in the Papacy and Usurpations of that Man of Sin in the *Roman Church*, with whom the Kings of the Earth have so long a time been committing Fornication, and given their Power and Strength unto; and so great a Part of the Inhabiters of the Earth have been made drunk with the Wine of her Fornication.

WHEN the Imperial and Heathenish Power, once flourishing at *Rome*, which hinder'd the Revelation of that wicked One, was taken out of the Way; and in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries the fierce Nations of the Northern *Barbarians* made their violent Assaults upon the *Roman Empire*, and carried all before them, with an irresistible Inundation of Desolation; there appear'd openly in the Temple of GOD [that *Antichrist*] who had Opportunity to establish himself with a mixt Religion among those Barbarous Nations, and call'd himself (what indeed the very Name *Antichrist* most properly signifies) *The Vicar of Christ*.

THIS *Antichrist*, or the *Satanical Spirit*, working in the Bishop of *Rome*, was conceived as early as Twenty five Years after the Ascension of Our Lord, and discover'd himself in an Affectation of Ecclesiastical Preheminency; about which Time, the Apostles accordingly gave Notice of him; and this Mystery of Iniquity was compleated about six hundred sixty six Years after that, when Image-worship was effectually set up, and pressed with the Ruin of those Emperors that refus'd it. But between those Terms, even about the Year four hundred and fifty, there were no less than Ten Sovereign Kingdoms, which, taking Advantage from the Confusions whereinto the Empire was fallen, set up for themselves; and according to the Sacred Oraeles, when those Ten Kingdoms receiv'd their Power and Authority, then, even in that one Hour, the Antichristian Beast got into the Throne; unto whom, it may be, the Spirit of Prophecy had some respect, in the most ancient Writings of the *Old Testament*, which mention the *Leviathan*: A polittick and crafty Clergy under one Spiritual Monarch, being now become the Conquerors of the Pagans, from whom they had been conquered, obtruded upon them a Christianity grossly corrupted and disguised with Paganism;

nism; to which they added Abundance of seeming Miracles and Austerities, of forbidding to Marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats, to render the Cup of their Abomination the more inebriating. Thus, the deadly Wound given to the Fourth Monarchy was healed; the Dragon that inspired it under its Heathen Form, did now no less inspire it under its Christian, and the faithful Followers of CHRIST were not mistaken in their Conjectures upon the Signs of Times, when Rome's falling into the Gothick Hands, caused them to expect, and cry out with Jerom, That he that hindred, is now taken out of the Way, and Antichrist is at Hand; that they were not mistaken in this Conjecture, but that the succeeding Possessors of the Papal Chair at Rome were that Antichrist, seems to be (tho' probably unwittingly and inconsiderately) acknowledged by Gregory, the then Bishop of Rome, in these memorable Words of his 28th Epistle, "Because (says he) Antichrist is now at Hand, I speak "it boldly, whoever calls himself, or desires to be call'd "by others, the Universal Bishop, is the Fore-runner of "Antichrist;" and it was but a few Months after this, that Boniface the Bishop of Rome succeeding him, obtained from the bloody and tyrannical Emperor Phocas (with great Struggle and Contention, as Platina reports) the Title of Sovereign and Universal Bishop. To this Reign of Antichrist, which was full of Idolatry, Persecution, and all mysterious Iniquity, the great LORD of all Times, and the GOD of Patience, both allow'd a Space, which hath the Denomination of Time, Times, and half a Time, or 1260 Years, during which Time, the Effects of a dreadful Apostacy overspread the Christian World. No Tongue is able to express, or Heart conceive the lamentable Circumstances, whereto the Holy GOD now abandoned the World, for its Indisposition to the blessed Kingdom and Government of our Lord JESUS CHRIST: Tho' Writings were then commonly dated *Regnante Christo*, yet it may be truly said, that Satan reigned, so as never more uncontrollably in that Part of the World. It was then the Hour and Power of Darknes, Clouds of thick Barbarity and Ignorance had so greatly enveloped and overwhelmed all Schools of Literature, that that famous Maxim was then current, *Quanto eris melior Grammaticus, tanto pejor Theologus.* Espencans, who



was one of themselves, acknowledges, that amongst their best Authors, *Græce nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraice proprie Hæreticum*. And *Zuinglius* and *Collinus* had like to have lost their Lives (as is reported) for meddling with those dangerous Languages, *Greek* and *Hebrew*; that to give the Etymology of the Word *Allelujah*, rack'd the most extended Wits of whole Universities; and the learned *Bullinger* will acquaint us, what jejune and wretched Fooleries were become the highest Learning of Colleges; that a little of *Aristotle*, expounded by the Commentaries of the School-men, was what they were entertained with; and their Divinity was too truly compar'd, by a renowned Writer, who liv'd above three hundred Years ago, to the Apples of *Sodom*, that under a fair Skin, had nothing but Ashes and Poison: Doctors of Divinity were created and pronounced most sufficient, who never had read the *Bible*, (nor indeed had they any other *Bible* than that vulgar *Latin* one, wherein one of themselves *Isidorus Clarus*, acknowledges that he found Four-score Thousand Errors:) And, as *Erasmus* reports of them, some of their Divines at Four-score Years of Age, had so little Knowledge of the *Bible*, that if any thing were quoted out of *St. Paul*, it astonish'd them; and that some of their Preachers, of no less than Fifty Years standing, had never seen the *New Testament*; and *Musculus* affirms, that Multitudes of them never saw the Scriptures in their Lives. *Amama* tells us of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, that opening the *Bible*, he said, *In Truth, I don't know what this Book is, but I perceive every thing in it is against us*; so much was Ignorance then accounted the Mother of Devotion. Their Sermons were accordingly but ridiculous Harangues upon the Relicks or Merits of the Saints, and as *Melancthon* affirms, *Aristotle's Ethics* were in the publick Churches usually treated on; and *Hosius's* Persuasion was too generally receiv'd amongst them, *That it had been best for the Church, if no Gospel had been writ*.

YET in those Days of Popish Darkness and Ignorance the Face of the Earth was almost covered with Religious Houses, as they call them; from whence continually issued out the Swarms of those Locusts, the several Orders of the Religious, who in the great Smoak of the Bottomless Pit, which they brought with them, tormented



mented Mankind exceedingly. *Alfred*, a Writer about a Hundred Years ago, reckons two Hundred twenty five Thousand forty four Monasteries that were then in *Christianity*; which if we reckon only twenty Persons belonging at the same time to each of these Monasteries one with another, the Sum Total amounts to four Millions five Hundred Thousand eighty and eight Souls. Now, if after so many Nations had utterly suppress'd them, they were yet so numerous, what Shoals of Poisoners was the World (before such a Suppression) infested with? Their Cells were so far from being the Seats of the Muses and the Graces, as *Charles the Great* (we are told) intended they should be, when he founded so many of them; that they were rather (as *Hospinian* tells us) Iqualid Prisons, and such Nurseries of Ignorance (as was before observ'd) that [*more Ignorant than a Monk*] was a Proverb for the most ignorant. They were become the very Habitations of Devils, the Holds of every foul Spirit, and Cages of every hateful and unclean Bird, and such Antichambers of Hell itself, that if after *Bernard's* Invectives against them, we peruse the incontestable Accounts of those, who then went under the Name of the Religious, reported by *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Cerbo*, *Augustinianus*, *Gualo*, *Nigellus*, *Honorius*, *Polydor Virgil*, *Nicholaus de Climangis*, and others; we shall wonder at the Divine Patience, that the Fate of *Sodom* (still impending over the abominable City of *Rome*) did not more speedily overtake them. The Popes of *Rome* under the most vain and absurd Pretences to Infallibility, and who have affected and taken to themselves the Title of [*Holiness*] have often been Notorious for *Wickedness*; some of whom have been guilty (as has been credibly reported) of Conjuratation, Perjury, Murder, *Sodomy*. Such Crimes as these have been frequently and justly charg'd upon them; and it may easily be guessed what the Common Soldiers were, when they had such profligate Wretches to be their Leaders; so that even Heathen *Rome* itself could never match them.

THE Worship of our only blessed LORD and SAVIOUR was lost in a depraved Mixture of *Jewish* and *Pagan* Rites (not without some Additions from the *Alchoran*;) and instead of our blessed LORD's Institutions, Thousands of Magical Tricks and Exorcisms,

Charms and Amulets, and other Diabolical Fopperies were of universal Use; the Faithful were sacrilegiously deny'd the Cup in the Eucharist, (tho' our blessed LORD foreseeing this, expressly bid them all drink of it) and the monstrous Figment of *Transubstantiation* was impos'd upon them in the Room of it. A vile and mortal Man, is with the most horrid Blasphemy adored [as the LORD GOD] and that Stile hath been most blasphemously accepted and usurped by him; [*Dominus Deus Noster Papa*] and according to that horrid and blasphemous Ulurpation, a prodigious Tyranny was exercised by them over the People in all their Interests; they could not approach the Word of Life; the Bread of Life was detained from them in inaccessible Concealments, and thus the Blind led the Blind; the *Collier's Creed* was that which no Man might presume to go beyond; Oaths of absolute Obedience to the Holy See, fetter'd the Consciences of Men, and rigorous Laws above, beyond, and contrary to those of *Christ* our blessed Lord, and only rightful Law-giver, were imposed upon them, so many as make huge Volumes in Folio; and these Canons, Decrees, &c. which made so vast a Body of Laws were to be observed by all; tho' Laws, of which *Agrippa*, who was himself a Doctor thereof, yet acknowledged, that they were neither of GOD, nor tending to His Honour and Service; but proceeding from the corrupt Designs and Arts of Men, and tending to promote their own avaritious Designs and secular Interests; filthy Lucre was what they pursued, and the Flocks which they had taken the Charge of, were under all possible Temptations to fall in to downright Atheism. The Marriage of Priests was made a Crime unpardonable, by those that were most Profligate themselves, and one grand Brothel-House was made of that which was call'd, *The House of GOD*; the Device of Purgatory and infamous Indulgences (very properly denominated the Treasury of the Church) crouded and fill'd their Coffers, by which (under a Vow of Poverty) the Votaries of that Church lived in the greatest Plenty and Luxury all their Days.

A N Historian of their own asserts it with some Resentment concerning this one Kingdom of *England* in particular, That there was not remaining so much Treasure in the Kingdom, as these Monks and other Churchmen

men had in *one* three Years extorted, and exported out of it, (the Vessels of the Church only excepted); a proud Prelate ador'd by them, would set his Foot upon the Neck of Princes, and Emperors must hold the Stirrup to them, and crowned Heads themselves were treated with wonderful Indignities, and have been dreadfully Thunderstruck and embarras'd with their Anathema's, if any of them began but to dispute their Tyranny, and the Immunity from the Secular Power claimed by them in the Ecclesiastical Function: And also the Command, which by means of Auricular Confession they got over the Souls of Men, contributed farther to put the World under a most intolerable Slavery to the Powers of Darkness. But hold, my Pen, here is not room to transcribe many of the Heads of what hath been writ on this copious Subject, nor of the Letters of one single Person (*Petrarch*) which he wrote to his Friends, decyphering *Rome* to be the Mother of Harlots, nor those Complaints which have been made some Hundred Years ago, of the so very corrupt State of the Church; and much less to abridge the Cart-loads of Books which a whole Army of Protestants, (besides what the famous Monsieur *Claude* wrote on this Subject) have since his Time written in the Defence of the Reformation. But I shall close this with the Testimony of *Baronius* himself, concerning those lamentable Times of Popish Darkness, Tyranny and Superstition, which he terms, *Tempora Ecclesia infelicissima & infortunatissima*.

AND were there no Attempts of good Men in this doleful Time to recover the Church out of this deplorable Apostacy? Yes, but unsuccessful enough, because the Time of *Antichrist's* Ruin was not yet arrived; many particular Witnesses of the Truth, were so far enlightened (thro' Grace) as to see thro' the thick Mists of Errour in these Ages of Darkness; and in the very darkest Places of the Earth, which was then filled with Habitations of Cruelty, so many were these Witnesses, that the Catalogue and very brief Account given of them, hath made a Folio; and as they could not without great Abhorrence behold the abominable Principles and Practices that were then commonly prevailing; so there were not a few of them, who particularly discerned therein, the evident Characters of *Antichrist*,



IT was about the End of the Eleventh Century, that the Abbot *Joachim* (who in his Time was famous for his Piety and Learning, and esteemed a Prophet) told the two Kings of *England* and *France*, that *Antichrist* was he who was then set on the Apostolick Seat in the City of *Rome*; and that in the Time of this *Antichrist*, many *Christians* shall preserve the true Faith in Dens and Caves of the Earth, and in desert Places, even until the Consummation of *Antichrist*; and at or about the same Time also it was, that one *Peter* of *Blois* exhorted his Friends in Time to depart from that *Babylon*; remarkable likewise, was that exquisite Oration made by the Bishop of *Salzburg* to the States of the Empire, Anno 1240, in which he calls the Popes, the Priests of *Babylon*; and finds at *Rome* the *Antichrist* which had the Ten Horns, or Kings of *Europe* under him; yea, as early as the Year 991, a whole Council of Gallick Bishops cry'd out upon the Pope, [*He is Antichrist who sits in the Temple of GOD.*] But the Admonitions of these Great Men, were generally as Songs to the Deaf, and disregarded; I say generally, tho' not universally; for in the Twelfth Century there was a Treatise emitted in the Name of some faithful Servants of *Christ*, concerning the *Antichrist*, which they said was then manifest in the Papacy; whereupon some did at the same time separate from her Communion. But the Time for a fuller Manifestation of Him, the Set-time was not yet come! Indeed all this while our Lord JESUS CHRIST had his chaster Church visibly existing among the chosen and holy Generation of People who were call'd *Waldenses* (as *Leger* has proved) long before the Time of *Peter Valdo*; which Name (as they are now call'd *Vandois*, from their Word *Vaux*, that signifies a *Valley*) belonged unto them, as inhabiting the Vallies of the *Alpes*, whose Character and History we may venture to take, even from the Mouths of some that were their professed Enemies, which renders that Character of them the more unexceptionable. *Claudius Sessilius*, the Archbishop of *Turin*, in a Book which he writ against them, tells us, That the Sect of *Waldenses* took its Rise from a most Religious Person, call'd *Leo*, that liv'd in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, who detesting the Covetousness of Pope *Sylvester*, and the immoderate Bounty of *Constantine*, chose rather to embrace Poverty



Poverty with the Simplicity of the Christian Faith, than with *Sylvester*, to be defiled with fat and rich Benefices; and that all they who were seriously Religious, joyn'd themselves unto him; and *Reynerus Savo*, the celebrated Inquisitor, quoted by the Jesuit *Gretzer*, hath a like Passage, in his *Bibliotheque* of the Fathers; he says this, That among all the Sects there is none that hath been so pernicious to the Church of *Rome*, as that of the *Leonists*, for some affirm that it began in the Time of *Sylvester*, and others in the Time of the Apostles; because they who are of it, have a great Shew of Piety, live virtuously before Men, believe rightly of the Deity, and observe all the Articles of the Creed; and *Casini*, the *Franciscan* Fryar, declares, their Errors consisted only in this, That they deny'd the Church of *Rome* to be the Holy Mother Church, and would not obey her Traditions; these Persons, from the mean Condition they submitted to, were call'd *The Poor Men of Lyons*: And from the Country of *Albie*, where their Opinions much obtain'd, they were call'd *Albigenses*; and those that passed the *Alps*, *Tramontani*; and in *England* they were call'd *Lollards*, from one *Lollard* a chief Instructor of them there; and strict Laws were made against the Conventicles of those that had this Name applied unto them. In *Italy* they were call'd *Fratricelli*, or Men of the Brotherhood, from their brotherly Way of living with one another. They were disposed in several Parts of *Europe* under mean Circumstances, because always despised and distressed; for when at any time they made any Figure, the bloody Church of *Rome*, (which cannot any more cease to persecute the Church of *Christ*, than the Leopard can change his Spots) quickly thundered out her barbarous Croisado's against them; in one of which, *Bellarmino* himself with triumph relates, there were kill'd no less than an Hundred Thousand; and *Perionius* avers, that in *France* alone by one Persecution upon this People, there were no less than Ten Hundred Thousand murdered. When such terrible Dissipations were overwhelming the Churches of our LORD abroad, he was pleased, in the Fourteenth Century, to bless our *English* Nation at home with the memorable and excellent *Wickliffe*, who sounded the Alarm of Reformation louder than any that had been before him; this venerable and faithful Person, being  
instructed

instructed (especially) by the Works of the Godly and Learned *Robert Grossthead*, set himself with great Courage, to decry the Pope as the very Antichrist; and that Men might be rescued from the Snares of Popery, he not only preached and wrote against the Villanies of the Popish Clergy, but also translated the whole *Bible* into the *English* Language; whereby those Impressions were made on the Minds of Men, that never could be totally effaced; his very Adversaries professed themselves astonished at his Exercises and Abilities, and after he had given such Testimony of his Fidelity, none of the Bulls that roared from *Rome* against him, nor all the Tricks and Contrivances of Papal Malice at home, could prevent his dying peaceably in a good Old Age, at *Lutterworth*; the very Name of which Town signifying [*the pure Word*] hath in it a pleasant Intimation of what this Town, and the World was by *Wickliff* irradiated withal. Afterward some of his Followers, especially one *Peter Payn*, carried his Doctrine into *Germany*, where *John Huss* was thereby enlightened, and the *Hussites*, those Christian Confessors there, by that Name began to grow considerable: This blessed *Wickliff*, of whom it's said the mad Papists long after burnt his Bones, was (as was said of *Simon the Son of Onias*) as the Morning Star in the midst of a Cloud, and as a Rainbow diverting the Fears of a Deluge. If Idolatry, Heresy and Cruelty could make a *Babylon*, the Church of *Rome* was now such a *Babylon*, and had manifested herself to be so in such a manner, as that all who had any Concern for their own everlasting Welfare, must think themselves greatly concerned to come out of her: Nay, the Papists themselves have, in effect, acknowledged it; they have, before they were aware, own'd *Rome* to be the *Babylon* the Scripture intends, by their proving *St. Peter's* being at *Rome*, from the Text where he is said to be at *Babylon* when he wrote his first Epistle. But to return to what we were before upon, Christianity itself was now so much lost among the Generality of them, who wore the Name of Christians, that the following Description of them may be given in the Language of *Bernard*, tho' one too far himself plunged in that general Apostacy, [*Religionis antiquæ non solum virtutem amiserunt, sed nec speciem retinent.*] And what better can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy,

pany, where the Popes are chosen by such Intrigues as they commonly are either by the Influence of the Nephews of the former Pope, or else the Craft of some aspiring Men to entitle them to Infallibility, and to that universal Jurisdiction which they pretend unto? What can we think of the Merchandize they have so long made of the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory; or of preserving them from it by Tricks, or some mean Pageantry of their own devising; implicit Obedience, keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples Hands, the Worship of God in a strange Tongue, Idolatry of Images, and all the other Pomp of the *Roman* Worship, &c? But that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the Hands of the ambitious Clergy; and that by these Things the People were to be kept up in a gross Notion of Religion as a splendid Business, and that the Priests have a Trick of saving them in course, if they will but take care to humour and honour them, and to pay them well for what they do, and leave the Matter wholly in their Hands; to bring the World by Wholesale to renounce their Reason and Sense, and to have an unreasonable and blind Veneration for them. But let us take a more particular View of the Apostacy of the Church of *Rome*, tho' very briefly under the following Heads.

I. TILL the Time of the Restitution of all Things, 'tis the Gospel purely and plainly preach'd, that must represent the Lord JESUS CHRIST unto the Faith, and Love, and Joy of his People. But this Apostate Church disliking such a Spiritual Representation of Our blessed LORD, forbids People to read the Scriptures, and instead thereof ascends into Heaven to bring from thence Images of his heavenly Glory; descends into the deep to bring up Crucifixes and Images of his Resurrection from the Dead; and they must have graven Images of *Christ*, that He may be nigh unto them, as the fond People of Old had their Calf in the Wilderness.

II. THE Real Beauty of Divine Worship lies in our devout Homage to One GOD in Three Persons, and our distinct Respect unto each of those Persons: But the Apostate Church of *Rome*, not beholding this Beauty, instead thereof sets off their own Worship with an external Pomp, agreeable to Carnal Minds, meretricious Allurements



ments under pretence of Decency, and all the Pageantry of Ceremonies, Vestments, Superstitious Gestures, Musick, Painting, and beggarly Elements, and Rites never instituted.

III. BELIEVERS are admitted to a very peculiar and most intimate Communion with our Lord Redeemer, in the Sacrament of the Holy Supper; A *Christ* suffering for us is in that Sacrament, by the Symbols of Bread and Wine, so tendered unto the faithful, that in their Obedience to his Appointment of it, they do with ineffable Advantage partake of Him therein. But this Apostate Church not having the internal Experience of this Matter, have in the room thereof, invented the sottish and horrid Monster of Transubstantiation, with the Sacrifice of the Mass; and they that could not bow down to this Image, have been cast into the fiery Furnace.

IV. THERE is a Catholick Church, which is a mystical Society, purchased and purified by the Blood of the Lord Christ, and married to Him, and possessed by his Holy Spirit: Part of this Family of God is in Conjunction with the holy Angels, arrived unto perfect Holiness in Heaven; Part is on Earth in the sure Way unto it, being guided therein by the unerring Rule of the Scripture. But this Apostate Church confines to it self only the Notion of the Catholick Church; a Society, whereto not one inward and sincere Grace of Christianity is requisite; but a visible Profession of Subjection to Romish Canons, is all that is required to the Constitution of that Society; it being by cursed Ligaments compounded for a Secular Domination, and anathematizing all that conform not unto the Superstitions of it.

V. THE Church's true Glory lies in its Union to its Lord, and owns his Presence with it, and Spirit in it, and its Conformity and Fidelity to his Laws alone: All the Gaieties of this World are not comparable to this Glory. But this Apostate Church cannot see any Comeliness in the Spouse of *Christ*, as adorned only with his Graces; but in the Place thereof, have brought in worldly Grandours, Dignities, Promotions, and the Glories of this World, which our blessed Saviour would not accept at the Devil's Hands, and on his Terms, in his Temptations; but he having proffered them to this *Man of Sin*, he hath accepted of them.

VI. THE



VI. THE Church is a Body which must have an Head, both for Influence and for Government, always present with it; and it is a Wonder how Men could think of any other Head for this Body, besides the Lord *Jesus Christ*, without casting away their Bibles. But the Apostate Church have set up another Supream Head of the Church, even the Pope, the worst Idol that ever was heard of: One Pope rescinds the Decrees of another, and it may be throws the Carcase of his Predecessor into the River; yea, Wretches which even their own Votaries in their most allowed Histories call Monsters, and such as for their Diabolical Practices, in their explicite Covenants with Devils, were confessed to be *Ecclesia opprobria*, have been notwithstanding set up as the Vicars of *Christ*, the Centers of Unity, and the Husbands of the Church.

VII. THE Discipline which Our LORD hath commanded his Church to observe, must be such as to serve the Designs of Holiness, and shew unto Mankind the Love, Care, and Faithfulness of the LORD towards his Church, and give a Testimony and Preludium of his future Judgment, all of an Efficacy purely Spiritual. But this Apostate Church of *Rome* in lieu thereof, hath erected a Discipline, consisting in a meer Tyranny over the Estates, the Liberties, and the Lives of Men; a Tyranny managed with Weapons, which are mighty (thro' Satan's Malice and Power) to destroy all that it falls upon; a Tyranny, which by Courts, Fines, Mulcts, Imprisonments, and Capital Executions, hath made the Earth a Shambles, and been drunk with the Blood of Martyrs.

VIII. THE Disciples of Our LORD own themselves obliged by him, as far as they can, to disciple all Nations: They that have obtained precious Faith, must, as they are able, propagate the Faith; nevertheless, 'tis only the diligent and patient and uncorrupted preaching of the Gospel, by which the Gospel would run and be glorified. But the Apostate *Romish* Church dislikes this Primitive Way of proselyting Mankind unto the Obedience of the Gospel; a *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, with a vast Crue of Missionaries from their over-stock'd Fraternities, is continually employ'd for the gaining of Proselytes: And by what Methods? Truly by Fire and Sword, and bloody Murders and Massacres, like those which the *Spaniards* committed upon the poor *Indians*, when those  
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Children of *Cain* butcher'd more Innocents in *America*, than (some think) there are People alive at any one time in *Europe*; or by the *Inquisition*, a Thing that cannot be painted without first belmearing (as the exact Painter for that purpose once did it) the Table with Blood, which is the most horrible Arsenal of Cruelty that ever was upon the Face of the Earth; or finally, by Seditions, Rebellions, and Conspiracies, the embroiling of Nations, and subverting their Fundamental Constitutions; ensnaring licentious, ignorant, and wretched Persons, first into Debauchery, and so into Atheism, and Indigency, that they may at last the more easily be taken in the Snares of Popery.

IX. 'TIS a Principle of our blessed Religion, that God alone, who is the Sovereign Lord of all Things, is to be obey'd absolutely, and universally; that his Will is to be the highest Reason of our Obedience. But the Apostate Church hath superseded this, by imposing upon Men a Vow of blind Obedience to their Superiors, urging for that Vow, the Example of *Abraham's* Obedience to God; and thus all the Interests of Men lye at the mercy of that Spurious Off-spring, the most unnatural Dregs of Mankind, who are nourished up to be the Janizaries of the Papal Empire.

X. THE Nature of Man is polluted by Sin, and the Pollution must be taken away before Men can enter into the Kingdom of God: nor can any thing but the Blood of the Lord *Jesus Christ* the Son of God, cleansing us from all our Sins, take it away. But the Apostate Church discerns not the Sweetness of this Mytery, the Blood of the Son of God applied unto the Conscience to purge it from dead Works? The poultry Fopperies of Holy Water, of Pilgrimages, of Disciplines, of Masses, and various Commutations, were employ'd as Purgations of Sin; and when they found that these things would neither purify nor pacify the Conscience, they feigned a certain subterraneous Purgatory, where the Souls of Men were, by exquisite Afflictions, made meet for Heaven; and that their Venial Sins (which they make the most) are yet capable of an Expiation after this Life, tho' there was no Repentance in it; and this Fiction they have placed behind the Curtain of Mortality, that so no Man living might

might find out the Cheat ; and thus adding an imaginary Storehouse of Ecclesiastical Merits, the Keys whereof are committed to the Pope, they have cheated Nations of Riches, far beyond the Revenues of Emperors.

XI. All our Help against the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and our Deliverance from all Evil, is in and thro' our Lord JESUS CHRIST alone, who, by his Death alone on the Cross, purchased all this Good for us ; and it is by Faith in Him, that we enjoy the actual Communication of it. But this Apostate Church of Rome, only makes the Sign of the Cross to be instead of an Application to Him, who dyed on it ; and Innumerable Vertues they ascribe unto this cursed Idol.

XII. THEY that approach unto GOD, should do it in all Holiness, free from offensive Defilements ; but the Apostate Church hath to this End borrowed from the old Pagans. the ludicrous Trifles of sprinkling all that approach to her with Holy Water, that they may be Holy, as if that was sufficient in order to their Sanctification.

XIII. THAT our Souls may live, the Death of our Sins is necessary ; and it is in the Destruction, and Extinction of our vicious Habits, by the Spirit of CHRIST Crucified, in the daily Duties of laborious Devotion, that we have our necessary Mortification : But instead of this, the Apostate Church hath prescribed Monastical Retirements, and Self-Macerations, not pleasing unto GOD, but gratifying their own Sensual and Superstitious Inclinations, and pleasing to him, whose delight it is to see Men, (as he himself is) in Fetters and Chains of Darkness.

XIV. GOOD Works, tho' utterly excluded from any share in the Justification of Sinners, are yet indispensably needful to the present and future Comfort of Believers. But the Apostate Church pretending to perform good Works from their own free Will, do advance the Pretence to the vain Pride of Merit in them, and they carry on the Merit even to a Supererogation. But being prevented by my design'd Brevity, I shall not enlarge farther on this Subject here, but refer the Reader to what hath been writ by divers excellent Pens ; which have abundantly stated these Points of the Grand Apostacy, whereinto the Church



Church in the Western Part of the *Roman* Empire was so early precipitated; while at the same time, the Church in the Eastern Part of the Empire fell under the *Mahometan* Oppressions and Confusions.

TILL the Time and Times of *Antichrist* had rolled away, the Call to come out of *Babylon* could not become effectual to the Nations that were under these *Babylonish* Intoxications; But when the last half Time of 180 Years, left for the Reign of this *Antichrist*, was entering, it was high time for our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST to make some Reprisal of that Kingdom, which at the time of the End, shall be given to his Saints and faithful Servants, and the remarkable Prophecies long before utter'd by the two *Bohemian* Martyrs, then received their Accomplishment, and the People in several Places, who had so long suffered under the Tyranny of *Rome*, grew willing at last to free themselves from such a Bondage. Behold how great a Matter a little Fire kindles!

IN the Year 1517, Pope *Leo* Xth under a Pretence of War against the *Turk*, sent Abroad his Indulgences, promising the Pardon of their Sins to all that would give Money for them; and among the Hucksters of these Pardons was one *Tecelins*, a *Dominican* Fryar, of whom *Lonicerus* writes, *Pontificis dignitatem & potentiam, Indulgentiarumq; virtutem & efficaciam, impudenter pradicabat*. Yea, he adds, he confidently affirmed that there could be no Wickedness committed, so great, but it might be forgiven by these Indulgences; that Souls in Purgatory, under Torments there, were deliver'd immediately as soon as the Money [*ten Shillings*] was paid on that behalf, and that being thus released from their Pains, they flew up joyfully to Heaven. At this time *Martin Luther*, born in *Saxony*, and now a Monk in the Order of *St Augustin*, and a Professor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, but a Person illuminated in the Article of Justification, by the private Conferences and Expositions of an honest old Monk on *St. Paul's* Epistles, began to oppose the impudent Cheats and Shams which these Agents and Collectors for the Pope imposed on the People. He first wrote Letters to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Bishop of *Brandenburg*, for the Restraint of these Abuses; the Neglect of which Letters, when he understood it, egg'd him on to publish Propositions concerning them, which exasperated the



the Business, till he had been made a Sacrifice unto the Papal Fury thereby, if the Duke of *Saxony*, upon the Death of the Emperor, about this time being then Vicar of the Empire, had not been so moved by his powerful preaching, as to abet him, and assist him in his Undertakings. This was the famous *Luther*, of whom much may be said of his great Zeal to GOD, and of his Faithfulness in propagating the Gospel; and they that will acknowledge the least concerning that great Man, must make that Acknowledgment which Dr. *More* has done of his great Usefulness in the Affair of the Reformation. "Altho' I cannot think (says he) so very highly of *Luther*, as some do, yet I think him to have been a very happy Instrument in the Hand of GOD, for the Good of *Christendom* against the horrid Enormities of the Papal Hierarchy". About the very same Time, or about a Year before, did *Zuinglius* appear at *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, against the like Abominations of Popery; nor could all the Compliments and Enchantments, with Offers of Preferments from the Pontifical Chair, bribe him into Silence, but he went on, till the Evangelical Truth was far and near embraced. It would be too long a Work to transcribe *Sleidan*, and relate the Actions of *Melancthon*, that accompanied *Luther*, and of *Oecolampadius* that accompanied *Zuinglius* in the Reformation, or so much as to recite the Names of the more than thirty Worthies, who were by the marvelous Providence of GOD, raised up to act great Parts in this mighty Revolution; who had no secular Encouragements, but bravely denied and renounced rich Livings, and encounter'd with the Cross in all its Mortifications, for the sake of the Gospel, and were not unwilling to die, as well as to live under the Circumstances particularly related concerning them: Only because the Name of *Calvin*, a Person to be reckon'd one of the first Three, is unaccountably, (since the Tares of *Arminius* have been so cherish'd) vilified and made light of, amongst those who have been secretly too much Enemies to the Reformation, and yet would shroud themselves under the Stile of the Church of *England*, a Name of which they are altogether unworthy; I may not omit to mention it, with an Account of that Veneration which the Church of *England* paid unto it, when Dr. *Carlton*, Bishop of *Chichester*, in

a Book dedicated unto King *Charles I*, anno 1626, thus wrote; "As for *Calvin*, his Name and Doctrines are made odious, but why, I know not: Some take it for a Sign of looking towards Popery, when the Members of our own Church offer such a Service to the Papists, as to speak Evil of them that have been the greatest Enemies to Popery, and the greatest Propagators of the Truth." And when Dr. *Hakewel*, Chaplain to Prince *Charles*, in a Book dedicated to King *James the Ist*, anno 1616, wrote thus: "One of the main Points you drive at, is to put us off from all Fellowship and Communion with those Churches who acknowledge *Calvin* to have been an excellent Instrument of GOD, in abolishing and suppressing of Popery, and in clearing and spreading of his Truth; and so thro' *Calvin's* Sides you strike at the Throat and Heart of our Religion." Dr. *Hoyle* also, a Judicious Divine of the Church of *England*, in a Book he wrote, dedicated to Archbishop *Usher*, as being written by his Direction, wrote after this manner; "*John Calvin*, was a Man of whom I had almost said, as once it was of *Moses*, That there arose not a Prophet since like him in *Israel*, nor since the Apostles Days was before him. His Works shall praise him, for Wit, Eloquence, Fulness and Soundness of Divinity, Variety and Multitude, advanced amongst the Highest, so that the World may justly admire how they could be so many, being so good; and so good, being so many". And much more to this Purpose (too much to be in this Place repeated) hath been writ concerning this incomparable Man; the first Line of whose Epitaph at last gave him his true Commendation, *Roma ruentis Terror ille maximus*. As for that common Reproach cast upon him by some who were willing to darken the Character he so justly deserved, as if he had expell'd the Bishop of *Geneva* the chief Magistrate of the City, we may see it fully confuted by that Reverend Divine of the Church of *England* Dr. *H. More*, who assures the Reader, that that Bishop fled away eight Months before *Calvin's* coming, being hated by the Citizens for the Rape of a Virgin, and many Adulteries with their Wives, and in fear of his Life for his Conspiracy with the Duke of *Savoy*, to oppress the Liberties of the City, for which his Secretary

was

was hang'd ; and they who changed the Government were strong Papists, and afterwards main Opposers of the Reformation, which *Calvin* had with so much Zeal been endeavouring to promote and establish.

But I hasten to observe, after this dark Night of Popish Superstition, which had so long overspread the Christian World, and that the glorious Light of the Gospel began to appear again by the Reformation, and that the Church was, in some measure, deliver'd from the *Anti-christian* Yoke, and the many abominable Idolatries and Superstitions of the See of *Rome*, by those eminent Instruments thereof before-mentioned, whom the LORD was pleased to raise up and spirit in this great Revolution for the Good of his Church : It had so quick a Progress, and so wonderful a Conquest and Triumph, as to fill half of *Europe*, in less than Forty Years, with Reform'd Churches, (which from a Protestation made by several States that were zealous for the Reformation, against the Decrees of a Popish Dyet in the Year 1526, have been ever since called *Protestants* : ) and soon possess'd almost all *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Gothia*, *Hungary*, *France*, the *Low Countries*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Helvetia*, and got over the *Alps* into *Italy* ; so great and speedy was the Progress of it in these Parts of the Christian World, and yet it met with so great Opposition, in those Places where it was received, as that some of those blessed Instruments in the Hand of GOD, in the Propagation of it, had been made a Sacrifice to the Papal Fury, if the LORD by his Providence, had not appear'd evidently for their Deliverance and Preservation : The Time was now come, that the Ten Kings must begin to hate the Whore that had bewitched them ; which Hatred was particularly exemplify'd by King *James V* of *Scotland*, when the Popish Prelates were advising him to destroy those of the Nobility and Barons that were Friends to the *Reformation*. " Wherefore (said he, as 'tis related " by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *James Melvil*) did my " Predecessors give so many Lands and Rents to the Kirk ? " Was it to maintain Hawks, Dogs and Whores to a number of idle Priests ? The King of *England* hangs you ; " the King of *Denmark* beheads you, and I will stick you



“ with this Whingar !” And thereupon drew out his Dagger, and they fled out of his Presence.

WHEN the ancient *Babylon* was to be destroy'd, Way was to be made for it, as the Sacred Oracles foretold, by the drying up of her Waters ; and what was foretold, was wonderfully fulfilled by *Cyrus* (as *Xenophon* and others report) when he made his Passage to it, by turning *Euphrates* into another Channel; the broad Walls of *Babylon* then were quickly broken down, and her high Gates (two Hundred Cubits high, says *Strabo*) were burnt with Fire. And indeed the Reformation thus begun, did wonderfully turn the Waters of our Mystical *Babylon* into another Channel ; whole Nations of People were turn'd another Way : and this prepares that *Babylon* for the approaching Day ; when *Babylon* shall become a Desolation among the Nations, and she shall become a burning Mountain, overthrown as GOD overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. But *Antichrist* had yet an half Time to reign ; and therefore no wonder if but half Work was done, in the Separation made from him. Nevertheless the Reformation which was no where fully perfected, yet had in several Nations, various Degrees of its Perfection ; some went much farther than others in restoring of Primitive Christianity, and in the Reformation of all Things, according to the Word of CHRIST. In this Matter very particular and remarkable was the Condition of the Church in the *English* Nation at this time ; It having pleas'd the LORD to send the Light of the Gospel into it, and to dispose the Mind of King *Henry VIII*, and some that were his chief Councillors, to countenance the Reformation, (tho' on those Motives, and in such Manners, as are well known to the World) it was found notwithstanding a Business incredibly difficult, to encounter the inveterate and incurable Prejudices with which Mankind were generally possess'd, against the Work by them desired and intended ; the greatest Part of the greater Men here, the Nobility and Gentry, were averse to the Proceedings of the Reformers ; the most of the Clergy were so true to their own Carnal Interests, that with Might and Main they opposed those Proceedings, and the Body of the People extremely blinded with Superstition and Prophaneness, were easily drawn to join with their blind Leaders in their troublesome Oppositions ;

positions; nor were the Nations in the Neighbourhood left unintigated by the Pope, to foment the Discontents of the People upon this Occasion. The Body of the People were those, which in these Difficulties the King most of all regarded, knowing that they were his Wealth and Strength, and that without their Concurrence the Disatisfactions of all others would hurt none but themselves; and the People in those Days being miserably unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Scriptures, (they having been as a sealed Book unto them, in those Times of Popish Darknes and Superstition) they were very little or nothing at all concerned, what Perswasions Men held in Matters of pure Belief, provided they might retain those Rites and Modes in their Worship, whereto they had been accustomed: So that this Work of Reformation, thus begun in the Time of King *Henry VIII*, and carried on so far in the Days of that Excellent Prince King *Edward VI*, tho' so many worthy Men did really desire to pursue the same, both in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, as far as they should see Light for it in the Sacred Scripture, the Standard of Truth and only Rule of Reformation, and according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches Abroad; yet they were much obstructed therein, by those that were either corrupted with a blind Zeal for what they had always been bred up in, or else by Self-interest; and many of them were jealous of too far a Secession from *Rome*; resolving still to retain, at least so much of the *Romish* Discipline, as might gratify their Carnal Designs, and Aims at a Worldly Domination in the Church of GOD, and a Superiority which they had so long enjoyed in the *Romish* Church. Such Persons as these have all along not only not been wanting accordingly to endeavour to stop the Progress of the desired Reformation, but have employed what Power they had still in their Hands, to persecute those that were the most hearty Friends to it.

Among those who jointly forsook the Papacy, there were different Apprehensions about the Worship and Order to be maintained in the Church; and in the Year 1554, a considerable Number of zealous Protestants flying from that bloody Storm of Persecution, with which the miserable Queen *Mary* for a while retarded and confounded the Reformation, that the Reign of her ever glorious

rious Brother had so far advanc'd (being entertained readily and kindly at *Frankford*) when those holy Men pursued that Reformation so far as to leave out of their Worship such of the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church as they perceived were likely to prove scandalous to the purer Churches of God, there unhappily fell out a Division amongst them concerning the same: Part of them were for *Diocesans*, and for continuing the *English* Liturgy and Ceremonies at that Time used, that they might no more than needs (as they apprehended) depart from the Papists, nor seem inconstant, by departing from that Form of Worship and Order in any Point, which was, in the former Reign of King *Edward VI*, so lately established (tho' in due time farther Amendments were then intended.) The other were for *Calvin's* Discipline, and Way of Worship; for the setting up of Parochial Discipline, and to have a Government in every particular Church, and not only one over a Multitude of Churches: And for a plain and serious Way of Worship, suited as near as possible to the Word of GOD, and to the Practice of the Primitive Christians, in the purer Times of the Gospel; and they accordingly wrote thus unto *Zurich* in their own Vindication: "As touching the Substance of the Book of Common Prayer, we desire the Observation of it so far as God's Word commands; but for the unnecessary and unprofitable Ceremonies enjoynd therewith, surely it were better they should never be practised, than that they should prove the Subversion of our Church, which would be much hazarded by the Use of them. If any think that the not using the Book in all Points, will tend to the dishonour of the Laws of our late Sovereign of famous Memory, King *Edward VI*, he seems little to weigh the Matter; or else hindered by Ignorance, knoweth not, that even they themselves, upon Consideration of Circumstances, have alter'd many Things; and if GOD had not in these wicked Days prevented, would have alter'd more; and we doubt not but in our Case they would have done the like." Hereupon, those Great Men, Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Cole*, and Mr. *Whittingham*, composed a *Directory* for the Congregation, like that of *Geneva*; and *Knox* preach'd, that from the Word of God we must seek our Warrant for the establishing of Religion,



gion, without which Warrant nothing is to be obtruded upon Christians : That in the *English Service Book*, there were some Things that were Superstitious and Impure continued ; and that the Slackness in reforming Religion, when there was an Opportunity, was one of the many Things whereby God's Anger against *England* had been provoked ; and whereas there were some not ashamed to say that the Reformation was already perfected in *England* ; yet the contrary was proved in the Want of a good Discipline, which appear'd enough by the Troubles that good Man Mr. *Hopper* had sustained in the time of King *Edward*. But the Diocesan Party after their Return again into *England* (upon Queen *Mary's* Death) got Queen *Elizabeth's* Countenance, and were preferr'd, and their Way set up ; and by the Infamous Bigotry of Dr. *Cox* and his Associates, Conformity to those scrupled Ceremonies was so much pressed, that they that could not conform to them, were persecuted upon that account ; were driven away to other Countries where they were more favourably entertained, and the very Life of Mr. *Knox* was sought for by an Accusation preferr'd against him ; an Accusation so Barbarous and Inhumane, that the Magistrates of the City to whom it was brought, expressed their Abhorrence of it ; however his Removal was thereby occasioned. In these unhappy Divisions, that began at *Frankford* before-mentioned, was the Epitome, (and in some sort the Original) of the Struggles about Reformation, both *Pro* and *Con*, which have ever since distressed the Church of GOD, in the *English Nation* ; and we have no Record of any Attempt for the healing these Differences, before there was that Form of Worship by Law establish'd, which was indispensably enjoyn'd on all, which, thro' the too stiff Adherency of most of the People, and many of the Bishops and Clergy to their old Ways, and thro' the extreme Scarcity of able Ministers, underwent as little Alteration from the former Usages as was possible. This Constitution of Things was very dissatisfactory to many of the best Men in the Land, that were Zealous in the Reformation : But yet considering the Necessity of the Times, they did more or less acquiesce in it, hoping and pleading that the Reformation might proceed in due time unto more Purity ; but they that found their own

secular Interests accommodated in this Constitution, on the other Hand employed the Power which they had in their Hands, not only to stop the Progress of the Reformation, but also with innumerable Vexations to persecute such as were the most hearty Friends unto it; to fine, silence, deprive, censure, and imprison those that were dissatisfied, and could not come up to such a Length as to conform thereto; and to *smite* their *Fellow Servants* who yet remained in Privacy under their Sufferings, waiting still for more of Reformation. But after some Years of a fruitless Expectation, these Severities being multiply'd upon them, drove Multitudes to a more open Separation from the Things that were by Law established: A Separation which yet was opposed by others, that also passionately longed, and even groaned for a National Reformation, tho' they were not wholly agreed about the Measure of Separation, or of Reformation to be attended unto; from whence ensued several Inconveniencies, which had no little Temptation in them; Multitudes of pious peaceable Protestants being driven by those Severities to leave their Native Country, and others to seek Refuge for their Lives and Liberties, with Freedom for the Worship of GOD, in a Wilderness, in the Ends of the Earth.

T H E R E is sufficient Ground to believe, that none more heartily blessed GOD for the first Reformers, and for the Service they did in the Reformation, or that more firmly cleaved to their *Doctrine*, which was the Life and Soul of Reformation, than those *Nonconformists* have ever done, or that more endeavour'd to follow them in their noble Design. But as those first Reformers never intended that what they did should be the absolute Boundary of Reformation, from whence it were a Sin to dissent or depart, as some have asserted, (which would have been to have only changed one Popery for another;) so it was contrary to what they had themselves practised, and confuted by their going beyond *Wickliffe*, and their changing and growing in their own Models also; according to the Confession of the great *Cranmer* particularly, who, *Fatebatur multa detracta oportere superflua, & ardentibus votis cupiebat ea in melius correcta*; the Orders of that excellent Prince King *Edward VI*, agreeing thereto, (which he gave to *Bucer*) in particular, to  
write

write for farther Amendments; and we find him, accordingly in his learned *Scripta Anglicana*, doing so; and thus the *Nonconformists* have been willing to imitate them, in exercising that Liberty wherewith CHRIST hath made them Free. For this is certain, that those very Principles, upon which the first Reformers built the Reformation, are those that have produced and justified the Hundreds of Thousands of *Nonconformists*, which have so long asked for further Steps to be taken in it, viz. Those Principles, [that the Word of our Lord JESUS CHRIST is a perfect Rule of All that we are to believe or practise in Religion] and that Christians not being ty'd up to the blind Obedience of their Ecclesiastical Guides, are to judge for themselves what they are to believe or practise in Religion, agreeable to the Scriptures. And according thereto, (as Bishop Jewel, one of our first Reformers made a Challenge to the *Romish* Clergy, upon their unjust Imputation of Novelty to the Reformation) in the like manner, those who are still solicitous for farther Reformation, apprehend they have sufficient Ground and Reason to justify the same, in such Terms as those he did, viz. That if any that have hitherto, or do still oppose it, be able to bring any one sufficient Sentence out of the holy Scripture, duly weighed, to justify the same, or to assert the establish'd Form of Worship, to be in all respects agreeable to that perfect Rule of the Scripture, they will submit and subscribe thereto; but as none can do that, so (according to this unerring Scripture Rule) Multitudes in this Nation have been long seeking for purer Administrations of Evangelical Ordinances more agreeable thereto, and to the Examples of Primitive Christianity; whilst it has been so much opposed by others, who would not hear of going farther than that first Essay of Reformation, in the Discipline of the Church in this Nation; whereby it is that so many Hundreds of Thousands of serious Christians have been kept off from Communion with it.

AND for the fuller Proof of what hath been before asserted, (besides what others might be given) and that a farther Reformation was intended, we have the Testimony even of such Historians, as lived and dyed in the



the fullest Conformity to the Rites of the Church of *England*, as by Law Establish'd.

Dr. *Heylin*, in his History of the Reformation, tho' he was himself a bitter Enemy to any farther Progress of the Reformation, tells us; "That not to press too much at once upon the People, it was thought fit to smooth the Way to the Reformation, by setting out some Preparatory Injunctions, that the People in all Places being prepared by little and little, might with more Ease and less Opposition, admit the total Alteration that was intended in due time to be introduced: That in the Composure of the Liturgy, Care was taken to avoid any thing that might give any Scandal or Offence to the *Romish* Party, they being already greatly offended, that it was communicated to the People in the Vulgar Tongue. But that what was done, both as to the Matter and the Form, did so far satisfy the Pope then being, that he shew'd himself willing to confirm all by his Papal Power; and that *Parpalio* was instructed to offer in the Name of his Holiness, that the *English* Liturgy should be confirmed. He says, That *Calvin* and his Followers excited the King and Council to a farther Progress in the Reformation, but that when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, she retaining such of her Privy Council, as had been of Privy Council unto Queen *Mary*, her Sister; In the same Parliament which altered, and again imposed the Book of Common Prayer, great Care was taken for expunging all such Passages in it, as might give any Scandal or Offence to the *Popish* Party. And tho' by *Calvin's* means some Reformation had been made in the second Liturgy, in King *Edward's* Time, he owns that now it was return'd back to its first Form, and that by Compliances, the Book was made so palatable among the Papists, that they repaired to our Parish Churches without any Scruple. He also asserts, that Things abolished by King *Edward VI.* and revived by Queen *Mary*, were by Queen *Elizabeth* retained, as formerly in her Father's Time, for which she received both Thanks and Honour from her very Enemies, the Papists; and yet many that were disaffected to those Ceremonies then enjoined, were raised to great Preferments." Dr. *Fuller* also, in his Church

Church History of *Britain*, tells us; 'There were many  
 ' Petitions for the necessary Reformation of many  
 ' Things in the Church, according to the Scriptures;  
 ' and that in the Year 1558, the Parliament began to  
 ' correct some Ecclesiastical Abuses, and that the House  
 ' of Commons, among other Grievances, petition'd,  
 ' that Ministers might not be troubled for the Omission of  
 ' some Rites, prescribed in the Liturgy; and soon after  
 ' a Synod at *Coventry* decreed against the Sign of the  
 ' Cross in Baptism, and other Things then objected.  
 ' He tells us, that as careful Mothers and Nurses, on  
 ' Condition they can get their Children to part with  
 ' Knives, are contented to let them play with Rattles;  
 ' thus the Reformers permitted ignorant People still to  
 ' retain some of their fond and foolish Customs, that  
 ' they might remove from them the most dangerous and  
 ' destructive Superstitions: But that there was a Peti-  
 ' tion signed by no less than 750 Preachers collected out  
 ' of only Twenty five Counties, a Foot in the Year  
 ' 1603. desiring a Reformation of certain Ceremonies  
 ' and Abuses in the Church: After which followed  
 the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, concerning them, but  
 the King hearkening too much to those that opposed any  
 further Reformation, it proved to be without Success,  
 and a violent Persecution followed.

To this Account, about the Degree of Reformation,  
 desired and designed by some, but so much obstructed  
 by others, may be added the Testimony of the Reverend  
 Dr. *Burnet*, now Bishop of *Salisbury*, who in his printed  
 Letters acquaints us, that in his Travels, he had Oppor-  
 tunity at *Zurich* to read a Volume of the Letters that  
 passed between *Bullinger* and several of our great Re-  
 formers (the Originals whereof were laid up among the  
 Archives there;) by which Letters it appears, that the  
 Bishops preserved the Things then contested, rather in  
 Compliance with the Queen's Inclinations, than out of  
 any liking they had themselves unto them. Bishop  
*Jewel* in a Letter, *Febr.* 8, 1566, wishes, that all the  
 Remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of the  
 Churches, and out of the Minds of the People; and la-  
 ments the Queen's Fixedness unto them; so that they  
 could make no greater Progress towards a Reformation.  
*Horn* writes, that he hop'd the Act concerning *Habits*  
 would

would be repealed the next Session of Parliament; if the Popish Party did not hinder it : And if we farther consult the History of the Reformation, written by that Learned Man (Bishop *Burnet*) we may find, “ That the  
 “ Queen had received such Impressions in her Father’s  
 “ Reign in favour of those old Rites, which he still retained, and in her own Nature loving State and some  
 “ Magnificence in Religion (as well as in other Things)  
 “ she thought that in her Brother’s Reign they had  
 “ stript it too much of external Ornaments; and that  
 “ being so prepossessed in the Matter, she continued inflexible to farther Amendments, and wou’d suffer no  
 “ Change to be made. So that when the Visiters whom  
 “ she had appointed to visit in the Country, made Report  
 “ to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws, and  
 “ her Injunctions throughout the Nation, it was found,  
 “ that of Nine Thousand Four Hundred beneficed Men  
 “ in *England*, there were no more but 14 Bishops, 6  
 “ Abbots, 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Heads of  
 “ Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and 80 Rectors of Parishes,  
 “ that had left their Benefices on the Account of Religion. So compliant were the Papists generally with  
 “ all that was done ; and indeed *the Bishops* had such  
 “ Apprehension of the Danger into which Religion was  
 “ brought by the Artifices of the greatest part of the  
 “ Popish Clergy, who retained their Affection to the  
 “ old Superstitions, that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not  
 “ lived so long as she did, till all that Generation were  
 “ dead, and a new Set of Men better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their Rooms, and  
 “ if a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before  
 “ that Time ; that they would probably have turned  
 “ about to the old Superstitions as readily as they had  
 “ done before in Queen *Mary’s* Days”. The Account  
 which the Learned *Cambden* hath also given us concerning the Steps which Queen *Elizabeth* took in the Reformation, is agreeable hereunto : How many of the Popish Rites were, by slow Degrees rejected, during her Reign, and how many were still retained through her Fondness for them, is a Story too long to be in this Place repeated ; accordingly *Coz*, then Bishop of *Ely*, is said to have lamented the Aversion that they found in the Parliament at that time, unto all the Propositions that were  
 made



made for the Reformation of Abuses; tho', in the former Part of that Reign (for which we have the Testimony of one who was no Enemy to Prelacy, in his Letter to *Hooker* about writing his Ecclesiastical Policy,) the greatest part of the most Learned in the Nation were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined to that Way of Non-conformity: That the Books then written favoured for the most part of the Disciplinary Stile, that it sounded every where in the Pulpits, and in the common Phrase of Men's Speech; and that many that were disaffected to Episcopacy and Ceremonies, were raised to great Preferments: And that even the Queen's *Professor* at *Oxford*, and the *Margaret Professor* in *Cambridge* at that time (as *Dr. Heylin* himself informs us) were Non-conformists; so that the contrary Party for a time began to fear they had taken a wrong Course; but it did not continue. There hath been a prevailing Party, both then and since that time, whose Grief it hath been that ever the Reformation proceeded so far, and whose Displeasure and Wrath have been on all Occasions vented against the Memory of those that were chief in the *Reformation*, who with too great Keenness and furious Zeal pleading for Ceremonies, have seemed as if they cared not tho' the Substantials of the Christian Religion were utterly lost in the Nation. All the Doctrines of Grace asserted by the Church of *England*, these Men do indeed subscribe them, but then preach and print against them, and by both would lead Men to *Pelagianism*. While they can assert the Salvation of Heathens, they cannot allow an Indulgence to Christians; and tho' they Blaspheme it as a Tyranny for the Almighty to punish Men for what (tho' thro' their own Sin and Apostacy) they cannot help, they themselves are yet for the Tyrannical Practice of it on others, unless they will act against the Dictates of their Consciences.

THESE Men and such as are of their Temper, who could swallow down and conform to any thing in order to Preferment, having crouded themselves in, and joyn'd themselves to the *Diocesan* Party (who had obtained Queen *Elizabeth's* Countenance, and were preferred;) the other were again discountenanced, rebuk'd, and by Law suppress'd; tho' they were fervent Preachers, and of holy Lives, as were many of the Bishops also in these

those Days. Had they who succeeded them been there: in more generally like them, they had in all probability been more honoured and esteemed; but when *Jewel*, *Pilkinton*, *Grindal*, and such as they, were dead, many succeeded them who were of a very different Sort. Both in this and the next following Reigns, the silenced Disciplinarians (as they were stiled) did by their Writings, secret Conference and Preaching, and their Godly lives, work much upon those that were most inclined to Religion; so that this Opinion spread very much, That a just Parochial Discipline would in a great Measure reform the Church, and that the *Diocesans* by excluding it, contributed much to the cherishing of Vice: But such an Opinion intrenching too much upon their Places, Power and Revenues, they thought it necessary more and more to suppress the Promoters of it: And being by Divine Providence capable, for the most part, very much to Influence the Legislative Power, (by their putting Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and Ceremonies into the Subscriptions, which they imposed on all that would be Ministers; or School-Masters) they kept and cast out many worthy Men. For some that were for the Liturgy and Ceremonies, were not for *Diocesan*, but Parochial Discipline; and some that were for Episcopacy, were not for the Ceremonies; and some that were for the rest, yet scrupled some; and he that could not subscribe to all, without any Exemption, was forbidden to preach the Gospel. Whereas in the mean time, many of the Bishops preach'd but seldom, and Abundance of Places had ignorant Readers who could not preach, or weak Preachers, whose Performances were very mean, and many of them were also scandalous in their Lives.

Hereupon the Disciplinarians cry'd out of the Severity and Impositions of the Prelates, and the Ignorance and scandalous Lives of many of their Ministers: And they on the other side vehemently inveighed against the Non-conformists, [They call'd them *Puritans*, which was the Name by which they were commonly known] and in process of Time the vicious Multitude called all by that Name, that were strict and serious in a holy Life, though ever so conformable.

THE ignorant Rabble hearing that many of the Bishops were against the Puritans, they were the more emboldened against all those which they gave that Name to, and their Rage against the most strict and serious Christians, was the more increased. They cry'd up the Bishops, because they were against the Puritans, whose Strictness they could not away with; and partly because they were earnest for that Way of Worship, which they found most suitable to their Ignorance, Carelessness, and Formality. And thus the Interest of the *Diocesans*, and of the profane and ignorant Sort of People, was unhappily twisted together in the Nation.

MANY also that were more serious, were much prejudiced against the Bishops, by observing Men of Parts and Piety silenced and discountenanced by them, whilst insufficient and vicious Men were encouraged and preferred among the Clergy, and that at a time that many Thousands of the People were perishing in Ignorance and Sin, for want of help. They were concern'd likewise to see *Fasting*, and *Praying*, and other Religious Exercises which they experienced so Beneficial, so strictly looked after and punished in the *High Commission*, and the *Bishop's Courts*, as if more perillous then common Swearing and Drunkennels proved to the Ungodly.

THEY were not a little concerned also to have a Book published for *Recreations* on the Lord's-Day, with the Bishop's Approbation, as if they concurred with the Prophane; and that Afternoon Sermons and Lectures, tho' carried on by Conformable Men, were put down in divers Counties: That so great a Number of Conformable Ministers were suspended or punished for not reading the Book of Sports, or about Altars, &c. and so many thousand Families, and many worthy Ministers, driven out of the Land; That Bowing towards Altars, and other Innovations, were daily brought in by the Hyper-conformists, none knowing where they would end; and finally, that the Bishops proceeded so far as to swear Men to their whole Government by the *&c. cetera* Oath; and that they approved of such Things likewise as were manifest Encroachments on their Civil Interests. These were the Causes why so many of those that were counted most Religious, fell in with the Parliament in the unhappy Wars that happened about this  
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Time in the Nation, who, nevertheless, did professedly and heartily disclaim and abominate that Violence in which they issued, in seizing, imprisoning, and in taking away the Life of their Sovereign. And tho' notwithstanding the abundant Evidence of the Concern and Hand of the *Papists* in this Affair, yet many have taken the Freedom to charge *this* in general on the *Presbyterians*, tho' it was very unjustly. They Publickly professed (many of them) their Detestation of it, and the Ministers, when sent to by the General and Army for their Concurrence, manifested their Dislike, and declared against so much as the seizing and imprisoning the Person of the King; and afterwards above Forty of the City Ministers, (by a Letter they sent to the General) testified their Agreement therein with their Brethren, and declared likewise against it; nay they warned and exhorted solemnly, in the *Name* of the Great GOD, all that belonged to their Charges and Ministry, to keep close to the Ways of GOD, the Rules of Religion, and the Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom, not suffering themselves to be seduced from it; but to mourn bitterly for the Sins of all Degrees of Men in the Nation, which might tend to procure those National Evils and Judgments upon it; and to beg of GOD to restrain that Violence of Men, that they might not dare to draw upon themselves, and the Kingdom, the Blood of their Sovereign. This Representation of theirs, was a plain running a great Hazzard, as Things then stood; but may be justly reckoned an Evidence of the great Integrity and Honesty of the Persons that subscribed it; and therefore a late Author,

*See Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. 3. P. 175.* who does not always pass the most favourable Censures that might be desired upon Men of their Character, yet acknowledges, in Justice to *them*, that they laboured to prevent it. (see Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgement

of Mr. *Baxter's* Life, pag. 57. to 61. Margin) and he that would see the Presbyterians fully Vindicated from this unjust Aspersions, may also consult the *Conformists* first *Plea* for the *Nonconformists*, where there is an Appendix designed on purpose to wipe off that Aspersions from them. Their Carriage in the whole Matter is there particularly

larly related, and their Innocence cleared by Authentick Evidence.

IT has been also by some asserted, that it was seditious Preachers, who stirred up the People, and were the Cause of all those Commotions; but it was a Notorious Falsity. Many indeed there were, who discovered their Dislike of the Book of Sports, and bowing to Altars, the diminishing Preaching, and silencing Ministers, &c. and were glad that the Parliament attempted a Reformation, but very few even of these stirred up to the War that afterwards followed, but were afraid of the Consequences of it: And this also is certain, that whether they did so more or less in their preaching, they were almost all Conformable Ministers, that were allow'd to continue in the Exercise of their Ministry, the Laws and Bishops having cast off the Non-conformists long before. They who made up the Assembly at *Westminster*, and who thro' the Land were the Honour of the Parliament Party, were almost all such as had till then conformed, and took those things to be lawful in case of Necessity, but long'd to have that Necessity removed.

THEY having afterwards the Advantage to be on the rising Side, after the War was over, it had undoubtedly been both their Wisdom and the Nation's Interest to have kept some Bounds, without running Things to Extremity: Had they endeavoured only the Ejection of Lay-Chancellors, the reducing the Diocesses to a narrower Compass, or the setting up a subordinate Discipline, and the correcting and reforming the Liturgy, so far as was needful, and so as to leave nothing justly exceptionable in it, in all probability it had been patiently born, and the Confusions the Nation afterward ran into had been prevented: There is good Reason to suppose this, because Bishop *Usher*, *Williams*, and *Morton*, and many other Episcopal Divines with them had agreed in certain Points of Reformation. They had censured the most remarkable Innovations, both in Doctrine and Discipline, and concurred in altering the Common Prayer, so as to obviate the Objections against it; and if any thing of this Nature would have suffic'd, it might have been the Foundation of a *lasting Agreement*, and they had been likely to have fallen in heartily with the Parliament's Interest; but finding an universal

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Change insisted on, and that nothing short of the utmost Extremity would then satisfy, they turn'd against the Parliament and their Interest, and were as much displeased as any; which put a Stop to that Accommodation and Settlement of Things at that Time, which those Reverend and worthy Divines had been endeavouring in the Church.

*See the Paper drawn up by them in Mr. Baxter's Life, p. 368.*

UPON the Restoration of King Charles II, Anno 1660, there was a singular Opportunity for the Reformation to have gain'd, at least, as much Establishment as was promised in that King's Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs; a Declaration, of which a Divine of the Church of England professed, If ever a Divine Sentence was in the Mouth of a King, it was with his Majesty, in that admirable Declaration; and that the united Judgment of the whole Nation could not frame a more unexceptionable Expedient for a firm Concord of these distracted Churches. The Expectations of Men at this Time were various, according to their several Interests and Inducements; some Moderate Men of healing Spirits, thought of Reconciliation, and Union with the Presbyterians, whilst others knowing their ancient Power, Honour, and Revenues would be in danger of being lessen'd, would not easily suffer them (as it too plainly appeared in the Event) to be Sharers with them; but such as were intirely of their Mind and Way. Many of the Presbyterians had great Hopes of Favour, several of whom were made the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, as Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Alb, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Case, Mr. Baxter, &c. and having thereby easy Access to his Majesty, desired to improve it for the Common Good; they recommended to his serious Consideration the Union of his Subjects in Religious Matters, which his former Declaration had given so great Encouragement to hope for; and which (if he would please now to interpose,) he had a most happy Juncture for effecting; begging that Things only necessary might be the Terms of Union; that the true Exercise of Church Discipline might be allowed, and that the faithful Ministers that would exercise it, might not be cast out, nor unworthy Men that were insufficient, intruded on the People.

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The King declared himself highly pleased with their Inclination to Agreement, and resolved to do his Part, he said, towards the promoting of it; "That it could not be expected to be compassed by bringing one Party over to the other, but by an Abatement on both Sides, and meeting in the Mid-way." He told them, "That if it was not effected, it should be long of themselves, and not of him: Nay, that he was resolved to compass Union, and that he would draw the two distant Parties together himself; And thereupon desired them to offer him some Proposals in order to an Agreement about *Church-Government*, which being the main Difference, if that could be amicably adjusted, there would be little Danger of differing in other Things. And withal, he desired them to set down the most that they could yield to." And they also begg'd of the King, "That at the same Time they offer'd their Concessions to his Majesty, their Brethren on the other Side might also bring in theirs, containing the utmost they could abate and yield to, in order to an Agreement, that so being compared together, a Judgment might be the better formed, as to the Probability of Success"; And the King promised it should be so.

THE Ministers hereupon meeting daily, (with whom also many of the Country Ministers that were then in *London*, joyned themselves) in a short Time agreed to a Paper of Proposals, in which, after an humble Address to his Majesty, and four Preliminary Requests, *viz.* [That serious Godliness might be countenanced; A learned and pious Minister in each Parish encouraged; That a Personal and Publick owning the *Baptismal Covenant* might precede an Admission to the Lord's-Table; And that the Lord's-Day might be strictly sanctified: ] They offer'd to allow of the true, ancient, primitive Presidency in the Church, with a due Mixture of *Presbyters*, in order to the avoiding the Corruptions of Partiality, and other Evils, which are incident to the Administration of a single Person. The Things which they principally blamed in the *English* Frame, were the great Extent of the Bishop's Dioceses, their deputing Commissaries, Chancellors, and Officials to act in their Stead; their assuming the sole Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction; and acting

' so Arbitrarily in Visitation Articles; bringing in new  
 ' Ceremonies of their own, and suspending Ministers  
 ' at Pleasure, without apparent and sufficient Cause.  
 ' And for reforming these Evils, they proposed, That  
 ' Bishop *Usher's* Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form  
 ' of Synodical Government, received in the Ancient  
 ' Church, should be the Ground-work of an Accommo-  
 ' dation; that Suffragans should be chosen by the re-  
 ' spective Synods; the Associations to be of a moderate  
 ' Extent; that Ministers be under no Oaths or ensnaring  
 ' Promises of Obedience to their Bishops, they being  
 ' *Responsible* for any Transgression of the Law; and that  
 ' the Bishop's govern not Arbitrarily by Will and  
 ' Pleasure, but according to Rules, Canons and Con-  
 ' stitutions that should be ratified and established by  
 ' Act of Parliament.— As to the Liturgy; they  
 ' own'd the Lawfulness of a prescribed *Form* of Publick  
 ' Worship; but desired that some learned, and pious,  
 ' and moderate Divines of both Sorts, might be employ'd  
 ' either to compile a new Liturgy, or to reform the old,  
 ' adding some other varying Forms in Scripture Phrase,  
 ' to be used at the Minister's Choice.— As to the  
 ' Ceremonies, they humbly represented, that the Wor-  
 ' ship of GOD was perfect without them; that GOD  
 ' hath declared himself in Matters of Worship a Je-  
 'alous GOD; that the Reformed Churches Abroad,  
 ' most of them, rejected the Ceremonies that were re-  
 ' tained here; that here in *England*, they had ever  
 ' since the Reformation, been Matter of Contention,  
 ' and Dispute; and that they had occasioned the silencing  
 ' of many pious and useful Ministers, and given Rise  
 ' to many Separations from the Church; that they  
 ' were at best but indifferent, and in their own Nature  
 ' Mutable, and therefore they begg'd the abolishing of  
 ' those that were Offensive; that kneeling at the Sa-  
 ' crament might not be imposed, and that the Sur-  
 ' plice and the Cross in Baptism, and the bowing at  
 ' the Name of *Jesus* rather than of *Christ* or *Emanuel*,  
 ' might be no longer enjoyn'd; and that Care might be  
 ' taken to prevent future Innovations, contrary to Law;  
 ' that so the Publick Worship might be free, not only  
 ' from Blame, but Suspicion: Soon after the King's  
 ' Return, many hundreds of worthy Ministers were dis-  
 placed

placed, and cast out of their Charge, because they were in Sequestrations where others had been cast out by the Parliament. The Ministers waiting upon his Majesty with their Proposals, signified their full Satisfaction, that all should be cast out, that were in any Benefice belonging formerly to one that was not grossly insufficient or debauch'd; but humbly begg'd, that all who had succeeded scandalous Persons, might hold their Places, and that where any were dead, the present Possessors might be continued. And that his Majesty would please to publish his Pleasure, that no Oath or Subscriptions, nor no Renunciation of Orders might be required of any, till it was seen what was the Issue of the desired Agreement. The King treated them very Respectfully, and renewed his Profession of his earnest Desires of an Accommodation; told them, "He was well pleased that they were for a Liturgy, and yielded to the Essence of Episcopacy; and he promised them, That the Places where the old Incumbents were dead, should, according to their Desire, be confirmed to the present Possessors of them."

BUT whereas it had been promised them by his Majesty, that they should meet with some Divines of the other Side, farther to concert those Matters, they did not appear; but after some time of waiting for the Condescensions and Compliances of the Episcopal Divines, in order to Peace, they at length received a biting Answer from them, by way of Reflection on the Proposals they had made to his Majesty. In this their Answer they declare, as to their Preliminary Requests, "That they perceive not any farther Security could be given than was already provided, and express'd little Inclination towards a Compliance, in any of those Things that had on the other Side been proposed: They express'd their Desire, that a godly Minister should be in each Parish, but knew not what farther Provision could be made for it: As for Confirmation, and the keeping of scandalous Persons from the Communion, they thought a sufficient Provision was already made; and that as to the Observation of the Lord's-Day, they alledged the Laws of the Land were stricter than the Laws of any Foreign Reformed Church whatsoever. As to Church Government, they declare for the former Hierarchy without any Alteration;



‘ the Extent of Diocesses to be suitable enough to the Bishops Office, and the Administration of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by Lay-Chancellors to be regular in the main, and applaud the Liturgy as unexceptionable, yet yield to the revising of it if his Majesty thinks fit; and as for Ceremonies they could not part with any, not thinking the Satisfaction of some private Persons was to be laid in the Balance, against the Peace and Uniformity of the Church.’

BISHOP *Usher's* Model of Church Government being the Scheme which the Presbyterian Ministers had now presented to the King, for the reducing of Episcopacy to that Form of Synodical Government received in the ancient Church, and that was proposed formerly as an Expedient for preventing those Troubles, which afterwards arose about the Matter of Church Government, see in Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment of Mr *Baxter's* Life, pag. 145, by which it may be known what it was particularly that the Bishops refused.

SHORTLY after this, instead of the *Diocesans* Concessions, which had for some time been hoped and waited for, the Ministers were told, that the King would put all that he thought meet to grant them into the Form of a Declaration, and that they should have Liberty to give Notice of what they disliked, as not consistent with the desired Concord; which accordingly was done by a Petition which they drew up, and Remarks on the said Declaration. This Petition being delivered by them to the Lord Chancellor was dropt, and they never called to present it; but he desired rather the Particulars of what Alterations they would insist on, which they accordingly delivered; and a Day was appointed for the King's Perusal of that Declaration, as then drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, to allow or alter as he thought fit upon hearing of both Sides. The King being present at the time appointed, with the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and some other Lords, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Worcester*, &c. on one Side; and Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Baxter*, and some other Divines on the other Side: The Declaration being read over, there were various Alterations about Prelacy and Re-Ordination, and the Particulars of the Declaration, and something was moved by

by the Lord Chancellor, supposed with a Design to give Liberty also to the Papists; which being objected against was after drop'd; and before the breaking up of this Meeting, the King having determined what he would have stand in the Declaration, at length it came out so amended, with such a Pastoral perswasive Power of governing left to the Ministers with the rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an Instrument of Concord and Peace, if settled by a Law; and so the Division might have been healed, upon those Alterations of the Liturgy which the Declaration promised. Several of the Ministers were offer'd Preferments; but all refused on account of the Uncertainty of the Continuance of those Terms in the Declaration, except Dr. *Reignolds*, who declared (when he accepted the Bishoprick of *Norwich*) that he did it upon the Terms laid down in the Declaration, and not as Episcopacy stood before in *England*; and that he would no longer hold or exercise it than he could do it on those Terms.

IN the Declaration before-mention'd, which was dated *Octob. 25. 1660*, the King thus expresses himself; 'When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal Asserters of *Presbyterian* Opinions, with whom we had as much Conference as the Multitude of Affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have; and to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) of Episcopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to desire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers, which the Indisposition of Times, and the Tenderness of some Mens Consciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we intended upon our first Arrival in these Kingdoms to call a Synod of Divines, and in the mean time published in our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Consciences. We need not profess the high Esteem and Affection we have for the *Church of England*, as it is established by Law: Nor do we think that Reverence in the least degree diminished by our Condescensions, not peremp-

torily to insist upon some Particulars of *Ceremony*; which, however introduced by the Piety, Devotion, and Order of former Times, may not be so agreeable to the present; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion, for the Improvement whereof they might be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispensed with. And we have not the least Doubt, but the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by us, to allay the present Distempers, very just and reasonable, and will very cheerfully conform themselves thereunto. Of these Concessions, this was the Substance: 'The King declared his Resolution to promote the Power of Godliness; to encourage the Exercises of Religion, both Publick and Private; to take Care that the Lord's Day should be applied to Holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous Ministers, should not be permitted in the Church: That no Bishops should Ordain, or Exercise any Part of Jurisdiction, which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the *Presbyters*; and neither do, nor impose any thing, but what was according to the known Laws of the Land: That Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials should be excluded from Acts of Jurisdiction; the Power of the Pastors in their several Congregations restored, and a Liberty granted to all the Ministers to assemble Monthly, for the Exercise of the Pastoral Perswasive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks: That the Ministers should be freed from the Subscription required by the Canon, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience; and receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and Exercise their Function, and enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without being obliged to it; and that the Use of the Ceremonies should be dispensed with, where they are scrupled.' These Concessions were so highly pleasing, that an Address of Thanks was drawn up, and signed by many of the Ministers in and about *London*; which Address was graciously received.

BUT after all, this Declaration had no Effect, save only a Year's Suspension of the Law, that afterwards took place. At a distance in the Country, even at this Time  
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some were so violent, that they indicted Ministers at Assizes and Sessions, notwithstanding the Declaration, taking it for no Suspension of the Law: But upon Application to the King and the Lord Chancellor on their behalf, they were generally delivered; but as to the Matter of Church Government, none of the Concessions in the Declaration were put in execution.

HOWEVER it being promised in the Declaration, that the Liturgy should be reviewed and reformed, and new Terms drawn up in Scripture Phrase, suited to the several Parts of Worship, that Men might use which of them they pleased, a Commission was at length granted to certain Persons nominated to meet for that Purpose, [The Names of the Commissioners of both Sides, see in the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, pag. 153.] The Savoy, and the Bishop of London's Lodgings there, was appointed as the Place of Meeting, where it was agreed, that all Exceptions, Alterations, and Additions, which they desired, should be brought in in Writing, which was accordingly done; and in this Paper they proposed, that the Prayers and Materials of the Liturgy might have nothing in them doubtful, or question'd among Pious, Learned and Orthodox Persons. The several Particulars of Exceptions, Alterations, or what Additions were desir'd by them, see also in Dr. Calamy's Abridgment, p. 153 to 158. in respect whereof it was urged, [ 'Tnat as the Reformers ' at first so composed the Liturgy, as might be most likely to win upon the Papists, and draw them into their ' Church Communion, by varying as little as well they ' could from the *Romish* Forms, before in Use; so it might ' according to the same Rule of Prudence, be then so ' composed, as to gain upon the Judgment and Affection ' of all those who in the Substantials of the Protestant ' Religion are of the same Perswasion.'] The drawing up of the Additions or new Forms was undertaken by Mr. Baxter alone, who stiled it [*The Reformed Liturgy*] which when read by the Ministers, was generally approved of, and was what they desired to have Liberty to use, instead of the Forms that were in Use before, or instead of some of them, where they scrupled any Part of the Service-Book; which *Reformed Liturgy* may be seen at large in the before-mention'd Abridgement at the Close of the 1st Volume, as it was then drawn up. But during this Interval the

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Convocation was chosen, having been probably for that purpose deferred till now, (after many hundreds of the inferior Clergy were put out, that the old sequestred Ministers might come in) and was attended with some other Circumstances much to their Disadvantage at the Election of Clerks for the Convocation, by which means the *Diocesan* Clergy wholly carried it in the Choice; and then the new Parliament and Convocation sat down, being constituted of Men fitted and devoted to the *Diocesan* Interest.

A Petition was by the common Consent of the Ministers drawn up to be presented to the Bishops, at the same time with the *Reformed Liturgy*; which were both presented accordingly. In this Petition they with great Humility and Earnestness, begg'd their abating those Impositions, in order to the Peace of the Church; and very pathetically urged many moving Arguments to induce them to a Compliance; in the End thereof addressing themselves to them in these Words; 'Grant us but the Freedom which *Christ* and his Apostles left unto the Churches; to use necessary Things as necessary, and unnecessary Things as unnecessary; and charitably bear with the Infirmities of the Weak, and the Tolerable, while they live peaceably, and then you will know when you have done; and for the intollerable, we beg not your Toleration, &c.

THE Bishops after some Delay, sent them a Paper of Reasonings against their Exceptions, without any Abatements or Alterations at all, that were of any moment; an Answer to which was also drawn up, and delivered to the Bishops. At last, after much time fruitlessly spent, the Commission being near expiring, and but Ten Days left, the Ministers sent to the Bishops to desire a Personal Conference on the subject Matter of those Papers, and earnestly pressed them to spend the little time remaining in such pacifying Conferences, as tended to the Ends mention'd in the King's Declaration and Commission; such other Disputes as they by their Treatment had engaged them in, not being the thing they desired, nor conducing most to those Ends: But it seems they resolved to reject the Papers of the Ministers right or wrong; and when the Ministers desir'd them to give their Animadversions on the Additions and Alterations of the Liturgy, and that

that they would declare what they allow'd or disallow'd in them, according to the Words in the King's Declaration and Commission, they would not by any Importunity be prevailed with to debate that Matter, or give their Opinions about those Papers. It was then moved, that they would go over the Particulars excepted against, and declare how much they could abate, and what Alterations they could yield to; but they declared they had nothing to say upon that Head, till a Necessity of an Alteration in the General was proved, which they thought had not yet sufficiently been, and looked not upon any as necessary. The Ministers urged again and again the Words of the King's Declaration and Commission, with the Ends expressed therein, being [ 'for the Removal of  
' all Exceptions and Occasions thereof, and Differences  
' from among our good Subjects; and for giving Satisfac-  
' tion to Tender Consciences, and the restoring of Peace,  
' and Continuance of Peace and Amity in the Churches:  
' And that the Means, were to make such reasonable and  
' necessary Alterations and Amendments, as shall be a-  
' greed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving  
' Satisfaction to Tender Consciences, &c.' which supposeth that some Alterations must be made] The Bishops insisted on the Words *necessary Alterations*, and such as should be agreed on. The Ministers told them, the Word *necessary* referred to the Ends expressed, the satisfying Tender Consciences, &c. and was joyned with *expedient*; and that it was strange when the King had so long and publickly determined of the End, and called them to consult of the Means, they should at last presume to contradict him, and determine the End itself unnecessary, and consequently no Means to be necessary; and that therefore all their Meetings had been but trifling, and that if they would take Advantage of that Word, to agree on nothing, that so all Endeavours might be frustrated for Want of their Agreement, GOD and the World would judge between them, who it was that frustrated the King's Commission, and the Hopes of a divided bleeding Church: That this was to draw on a Dispute, before the End of which the Time of the Commission was like to expire; and that that Method could not possibly tend to an Accommodation, but to wrangle out the time in that Dispute, and was too visibly, in the Sight of all the  
World



World to defeat the King's Commission, and the Expectations of many Thousands, who long'd for Unity and Peace; but nothing else would be yielded to. [So a Dispute was agreed on to argue *the* Necessity or *no* Necessity of altering the Liturgy] Three of a Party were chosen on each Side to manage the Dispute, and a great deal of Time from Day to Day was spent therein; but it proved to be to very little Purpose, the Issue of it seeming to have been before determined; and there were so many Speakers, and so many Interruptions, and so many little Personal Brangles, which spun out that little Time that was remaining, that nothing further was done: But after all the Debates and Attempts in order to an Accommodation, which there was so great Encouragement given to expect, they all proved insignificant; and (as was mention'd before) it appeared too visibly, that it was before determin'd what should be concluded on, without making any of those Abatements that were insisted upon, or such as were worth the naming, till the Time the King's Commission was expired. And thus ended that Conference, and the Dispute at the *Savoy*, and with it all Endeavours for a Reconciliation upon the Warrant of the King's Commission. A late *Historian* when he mentions *E. of Clarend.* the End of this Conference, says, "The *Compleat Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 236. " *Presbyterian* Divines depended too much upon the Encouragement they had received from the King and his chief Ministers, and on the Assurances given them " by some of the leading Members of Parliament."

AT the Close of the last Day it was agreed, that nothing should be given in on either Side to the King, as charged on the other Side, but what should be delivered in Writing, and that this Account should be given on each Side, that they were all agreed upon those great *Ends*, the Churches Welfare, Unity and Peace, together with his Majesty's Happiness and Contentment; but after all their Debates, were disagreed of the *Means* conducing to it. The Dispute being ended, all the Ministers that were Commissioners met by themselves, and resolv'd to draw up an Account of their Endeavours, and to present it to his Majesty, with a Petition for his promised Help for those Alterations and Abatements, which they could not procure of the Bishops. They first apply'd themselves to the Lord Chancellor, and

and crav'd his Favour to procure them the King's Declaration yet to be pass'd into an Act, and his Advice how they should proceed; he consented to their giving his Majesty an Account of their Proceedings in an Address, and when they had drawn it up, perus'd it, and after some Alterations, the Address was presented accordingly by some of the Ministers. — In which, after a particular Account of their Proceedings, they thus expressed themselves. — And tho' we seem to have labour'd in vain, we shall yet lay this Work of Reconciliation and Peace at the Feet of your Majesty, beseeching you to prosecute such a blessed Resolution, till it attain Success. We must needs believe that when your Majesty took our Consent to a Liturgy, to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you meant not that we should have no Concord, but by consenting to this Liturgy, without any considerable Alteration: And when you comforted us with your Resolution to draw us together, by yielding on both Sides what we could, you meant not that we should be the Boat, and they the Bank that must not stir. And when your Majesty commanded us, by Letters Patents to treat about the needful Alterations, we rest assur'd that it was not your Sense, that tender Consciences were to be forc'd to practise all which they judge unlawful, and not have so much as a Ceremony abated them: Or that our Treaty was only to convert either Part to the Opinion of the other; and that all our Hopes of Concord or Liberty consisted only in disputing the Bishops into *Nonconformity*, or coming in every Ceremony to their Minds. — As your Majesty, under GOD, is the Protection to which your People fly, and as the same Necessities still remain, which drew forth your Gracious Declaration, we most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that the Benefits of the said Declaration may be continued to your People; and in particular, that the Additions may be made to the Liturgy that are therein expressed. — We shall wait in Hopes that so great a Calamity of your People, as would follow the Loss of so many able, faithful Ministers, as rigorous Impositions would cast out, shall never be recorded in the History of your Reign: But that these Impediments of Concord being  
forborn,

forborn, your Kingdoms may flourish in Piety and Peace, &c.

BUT this proved also without any Success. All their Intreaties availed nothing, to ward off one of the greatest Calamities from a sinful Land and People. For some time after this, came out that *Act of Uniformity*, clogg'd so as to make the Weight of Conformity heavier than ever, of which, whosoever would make a right Judgment, must sedately consider both the scandalous Arts that were used for obtaining it, (which Act notwithstanding was carried but by a few Voices) and the bitter Fruits and Consequences it produced, as will appear in the following Account thereof. It was passed in a Heat, but its Effects have been lasting; Personal Piques had much influenced several of the most zealous Promoters of it: But Posterity, when Passion and Prejudice come once to be worn out, will rue the Consequences. Some have applauded it as Heroical; but it was a Prologue to a Tragedy that has not yet reach'd its final Period, and fatal Consequences. Others have attempted to vindicate it; but it would be hard to do it upon Scriptural Grounds. On the other Side, such a Remark as was made thereon by a Person of Note, I cannot omit to mention; "Had all the Ministers (said he) conformed, People would have thought there had been nothing in Religion, and that it was only a Thing to be talk'd of in the Pulpit, and serve a State Design; while the Ministers turn'd and chang'd any Way with the State: But these Men giving up their Livings, and exposing themselves and Families to outward Evils, rather than they would conform to Things imposed not agreeable (as they apprehended) to the Gospel they preach'd, have convinced Men that there is a Reality in Religion, and given a Check to Atheism. For it cannot reasonably be supposed or imagined, that two Thousand Men at a Time, that were but barely Rational, could have been such Enemies to themselves, and to their own comfortable Maintenance and Settlement in the World, as to leave their Livings, which they were settled in, whereby themselves and their Families were so comfortably provided for, (and many of them very fully and plentifully) and to expose themselves to those very great Hardships, which they must necessarily



cessarily undergo by their Ejection, were it not upon the Account of their Consciences; that they stood so much in Awe of an All-seeing, and Heart-searching GOD, whose Prerogative it is to rule over the Consciences of Men; that they durst not violate them, to comply with those Things which were then imposed, whilst those Impositions were judged by them unlawful; tho' they were more readily received and swallowed by Men of looser Principles, and not scrupled by them. It was their Endeavour to look Carefully about them, and to consider Impartially what was required, as the Terms of Conformity, and they were not for wrigling themselves either in or out by Distinctions and Evasions, (which yet they were as able to have framed as their Neighbours) but chose to do all in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity, without Equivocations and Reserves. They did not throw themselves out of Service, but were forcibly ejected, they begg'd for Continuance in their Work of the Ministry, with all imaginable Earnestness, and urged unanswerable Arguments for it in their Petition for Peace, but were repulsed. They were not cast out, because not needed to carry on the Work of the Gospel in the Land; for there were, and still are, among us many desolate Quarters, that are over-run with Ignorance and Prophaneness; and there was more to be done in order to general Instruction, Excitation and Reformation, than all their joynt Labours would have fully sufficed for; and yet they were ejected. But it was an Action without a Precedent; the like to which the Reformed Church, nay the Christian World never saw before. In the ancient *Arrian* Persecutions, many Scores of faithful Orthodox Publishers of the Everlasting Gospel were slain and banish'd; but in this Case two Thousand at once had their Mouths stopp'd even whilst they were Alive, were doom'd to Silence in their own Native Country, and that by their Brethren, tho' their Labours were called for, and earnestly desired. 'Twas heretofore reckon'd a most horrid Thing, and drew Tragical Exclamations from succeeding Historians, that between Three and Fourscore Bishops should be sent at once into the *Isle of Sardinia* by the *African Vandals*, and so it really was, because thereby they were banished from their Flocks which was an affecting Thing, notwithstanding

withstanding they had the Liberty of their Tongues and Pens still left them; but in this Case Thirty times as many were separated from their loving and beloved Flocks, and that by those with whom they joyned in professing the same Orthodox Faith; and tho' they were suffer'd to remain in the Land, they were yet turn'd in to so many Mutes, and laid aside as useless Persons. There was indeed a Gap made in this Nation, upon the Settlement of the Protestant Religion, in the room of the Papal Superstition, but it was nothing comparable to that that was made upon the resettling of Diocesan Episcopacy. The Number of those that were then ejected was about One hundred and sixty five, of several Degrees in the Popish Church: But how much better were they spared from their Dronish Retirement, than two Thousand preaching Ministers, who were unwearied in their Endeavours to spread Knowledge, Faith, and Holiness? The Tenderness used towards the former Sort to remove all Grounds of Scruple or Disgust, that they might be tempted into the National Establishment, is evident and obvious, but it cannot be said the *Non-conformists* met with the like Treatment. Upon the obstinate Refusal of the former to comply, they were ejected; and the Safety of the State required it, because they owned a Foreign Head. But the latter were cast out by Men of the same Faith, meerly because they differed in Things owned to be Extra-essential, and destitute of any intrinick Goodness. After all, the former were treated with great Lenity and Mildness, as long as they liv'd quietly, and aimed no higher than the private Liberty of their Sentiments and Way; But were the *Non-conformists* worthy of any such Favour? Or rather, Were they not oppress'd to the utmost, design'd on purpose (by some) that they might be driven thereby to make an Interest for such a Toleration, as should open a Door to the Common Enemy?

→ THERE was so little Reason to charge them as Enemies of Order and Regularity, that a regular Discipline in the Church was what they pleaded for; and moderate Episcopacy (according to the primitive Institution and Practice) was what most would have freely submitted to. Archbishop *Usher's* Platform, (which he drew up) they would have rejoiced in; with a due Indulgence

diligence to those of their Brethren, whose Latitude was not so great as theirs.

THESE Ministers were generally in the Flower of their Age and fittest for Service, and as exemplary for Strictness as any in the Nation; they were as well qualified for the Ministerial Work, as diligent and laborious in it, as accepted and useful as could be produced in any Age or Country at that Time or since; but the Act of *Uniformity*, by which they were ejected, made no Difference, spared neither Age nor Parts, consider'd not any Service they had done, nor Usefulness they might farther have been capable of, had they been continued in the Exercise of their Ministry: But it levell'd all that lay in its Way, prevented the Benefit which many Hundreds and Thousands of Souls might have reaped by their Ministry, whose Hearts were earnestly bent that Way, and who desired not to live for any lower Purpose: Such Persons as these, of known Piety and Experience, must by this Act be forc'd to quit the Churches, and those Men that were full of Love to GOD, and the Souls of the People under their Charge, are oblig'd hereby to resign to others (too many of whom its known were raw and unfurnish'd for so great a Charge, and minded Preferment more than *real Religion*). But these Persons being so depriv'd, were left without any visible Way of Subsistence, and not only excluded Preferments (which they could much more easily have born) but were cut off from all Hope of a Livelihood, so far as the Power of their Adversaries could reach; and tho' they offer'd (as some of them did) to Preach for nothing, it must not be allow'd them.

And what was the Ground of all this? It was nothing but what was made a Crime by the Law of the State, and not in itself any way sinful; nothing but what might have been safely allow'd them, without Damage or Danger either to Church or Commonwealth; as appeared by the Event, since a Legal Indulgence hath been granted them, and their Usefulness in promoting the great Work of the Gospel, hath been with much Candour, Love, and Sympathy, acknowledged since, by some of the most Eminent Members, and in the highest Places in the Establish'd Church.

*See the Bp. of Linc. and Bps of Salisbury's Speeches at the Tryal of Dr. Sacheverell.*



BUT instead of allowing this Practice of theirs to be any way Criminal, it was that which appear'd to them to be no other than their Duty; they thought their witnessing against Humane Uturpations in Divine Things, was a Piece of necessary Fidelity to God, and they apprehended the standing Law of God obliged them to preserve the Purity of Christian Worship, and that they were bound thereto upon their Allegiance to Him, which they could not violate upon any Account whatsoever. They chose rather to suffer the Loss of all outward Enjoyments for the Sake of their Consciences, than make Shipwrack of them for the obtaining the greatest worldly Advantages, and could not adventure upon what they thought sinful, whatever Prospect of Gain they might have had thereby to themselves or others; but their Faith and real Trust in God, and their Integrity that was apparent therein, silenced many that had before apprehended Religion to be but a Fancy.

THEY rejoiced in the Usefulness of their conforming Brethren, while they themselves were discountenanced; they prayed heartily for their Civil Governours, and all in Authority, while themselves were treated as unworthy of any Favour; they were owned of God in all their Troubles, carried thro' a great many Difficulties, gained upon many of their Enemies by their Patience and Quietness, and Subjection to the Government in all Lawful Things, and that for Conscience-sake; and they were some time after taken again under its Protection; tho' the same *Act of Uniformity* still kept them from the more publick Exercise of their Ministry. And, blessed be God, it is too evident to be denied, that in their private Ministrations (which their Oath and Fidelity to their great Master, whose Work they had undertaken, and before whom they had taken it, obliged them to continue, and which they therefore durst not forsake) they did Good to the Souls of many; and how much more might they have done, if they had been kept within the Publick National Establishment; and to whom can the Loss of their valuable Labours be ascribed, but to those that were the over eager Espousers of Rites and Ceremonies, to which all the Usefulness of so many laborious Ministers of the Gospel must be sacrific'd.

THE Issue of which over-great Height of Zeal for them was such, that in the gaining that Point and fixing *Uniformity*, Things were hereby run to that Height, that Prophaneness at length over-run the Nation, and all that was dear and valuable to us was at last in Danger, when bare-fac'd *Popery* ascended the Throne, trampling at once on all Religion and Liberties; and was it not then freely own'd, that *Papists* in disguise had all along blowed the Coals, and done the hottest Part of the Service, whereby they most effectually hinder'd farther *Reformation* (which is that that should never be forgot.) The most busy Informers against the *Dissenters* were generally infamous, and some of them came to a Tragical End; and the fiercest Prosecutors, according to the Laws against them, that were in the Commissions of the Peace, did not generally prosper most in their Families and Estates; nor was the Memory of those Statesmen, who were most active in that Service, most grateful afterward to true hearted *Englishmen*. And the Providence of God in this Respect should not be over-look'd, but be remark'd.

AND farther, did GOD disown these Worthies when thus cast off? Let any observe and judge. They and their Families were supplied by an invisible Hand; Providence was instead of Livings to those, who left their Livings for the sake of their Consciences: When they were driven first out of their Livings, and afterwards from all Corporations, whereby they were separated from their kind Neighbours and Acquaintance, by whom they might have been sustained; and by that means Caution enter'd against them in all the Ways of Livelihood they were capable of; yet they lived comfortably, maintain'd their Families creditably, many of them bred up their Sons to the Ministry, in which they are now useful, and they dy'd at last in Peace, were laid in their Graves with Honour, and the Memory of many of them is precious, and will be so in the Esteem of such Pious and Serious Christians as were best acquainted with them.

AND tho' now the Generality of these Ministers are in their Graves, yet still is their *Non-conformity* (which they did with so much Faithfulness continue in) likely to dye with them? It were to be heartily wish'd it might, so the Causes of it were removed by a cordial Comprehension: But as long as it is bottom'd upon such stable

Principles, as the following Account will shew; as long as such a Model remains among us, as makes more necessary to enter into the Church than is requisite to come into the Gates of Heaven, or than can be bottom'd upon or warranted by the Scripture, it must be expected that *Non-conformity* will continue; and if those who now rise up in the Room of them, that in so noble a Manner adher'd to the Principles of the *first Reformers*, being still sensible of the Necessity of a *farther* Reformation in the Church, in order to the more general and effectual reaching of the great Ends of Christianity: If others now in the stead of those who ventur'd all that was dear to them in bearing their *Testimony* to this *Principle*, rather than they would do violence to their Consciences, do but imitate their Faith and Patience, Piety and Purity, if called (as they were) to suffer upon that Account: If they do but partake of the same Divine Spirit whereby they were acted, and have but the same Presence of God with them to guide and assist, and to support them; there is little Reason to fear the Issue, or envy the Preferments of those that enjoy them; being satisfied in the Goodness of their Cause, being able to approve themselves to God, to their Sovereign, to the Christian World, and their own Consciences, and to all Impartial Judges, when the Grounds thereof shall be duly consider'd.

The Grounds of *Nonconformity* were these following:

Among the excluded Ministers there was a Diversity of Sentiments; some could have gone much farther in Compliance with Authority than others could do; but as the Terms of *Conformity* were settled, they durst not yield, some upon one Account, others upon another, and several upon many Reasons at once, fearing they should thereby have offended God, as they must certainly do, whilst in any of those Things that were enjoyned, they acted against their own Consciences. The Gap made by their Ejection was wide and great, and the Censures passed upon them by many for their Non-compliance very harsh and severe: But Posterity must and will judge in the Case, when Plaintiffs and Defendants are all in their Graves. For *Their* Help and Assistance therefore, especially the Case and Plea of those who were the Sufferers is  
here



here briefly drawn up; which compared with the Arguments and Replies of the Aggressors, may help in passing an impartial Judgment. The Things imposed upon them, if they would keep their Livings or Lectureships, or any Post of Service in the Establish'd Church, by the *Act of Uniformity*, were these that follow:

I. THEY must be Re-ordained, if not Episcopally Ordained before. Now this was what they could not submit to, as being, in their Apprehension, a nullifying their past Ordination, and was a Matter which appear'd to them very momentous, in as much as the Peace of their own Consciences, the Credit of the *Reformed Churches* Abroad, and the Good and Welfare of the People among whom they had laboured, were all very nearly concerned in it: Their Consciences would not allow them to play with Holy Things, in pretending to be moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon them the Office of a *Deacon*, when they knew themselves already fixed sufficiently in the higher Office of *Presbyters*. It appear'd to them a taking God's Name in vain, solemnly to pray to him for what they were assured they already had; and to seem to be then first invested with a Sacred Authority, which they had received long before, being already ordained by an Assembly of Senior Pastors, who were then in possession of that Power (after that *Diocesans* were put down here in *England*,) by the Power of the Parliament; and tho', after due Examination as to their Qualifications, they were solemnly set apart to the Sacred Ministry by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, and had the Blessing of Heaven for many Years before attending their Sacred Ministrations: Neither durst they pour such Contempt upon the *Reformed Churches* Abroad, as their Submission in this particular would, in their Esteem, have carried in it, by disowning them and their Ministers, who had no other Ordination than such as that which they themselves had before received; and withal they durst not invalidate their own past Ministration, to the raising of endless Scruples in such as had been under their Ministry; and yet to put the Matter beyond all Dispute, an expresse Renuntiation of the foregoing Ordination by *Presbyters* was required, before Episcopal Ordination could be had.

See Dr Calam.  
Abridgement,  
P. 198, 199.

II. THEY must declare their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; together with the Psalter, and also the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, &c. to which was superadded an Equivalent Subscription thereto. They could not concur herein, 1. Because very few of them could see the Book, to all Things in which they were to declare their Assent and Consent, before the Time limited in the Act was expired; the Common-Prayer Book with those Alterations and Amendments (as they were termed) not coming out till a few Days before the 24th of *August*: So that of the Seven Thousand Ministers in *England* who kept their Livings, few except those who were in or near *London*, could possibly see what they declared their Assent and Consent to; and afterwards in this they met with several Things, which after the strictest Search they could make, appear'd to them not agreeable to the Word of God: And for them under this Apprehension (which it was not in their Power to alter) yet to declare their Satisfaction, that there was Nothing contrary to the Word of God, and Nothing but what they could both Assent to (as true) and Consent to (as good to be used), and to have subscribed the same with their Hands, had been doing Violence to their Consciences, and attempting at once to have imposed upon God and Man. What was required of them was very comprehensive, and as full as could be devised by Man, thereby to testify (as in the Presence of God) their highest Justification and Commendation of every Point and Syllable, every Rite and Ceremony, every Matter and Thing contained in the whole Book, and in every Page and Line of it. Such a Declaration as was required of them concerning it, was in their Apprehension, as much as could be desired or done concerning the Holy Scripture, the Bible itself, which was dictated by the *Holy Spirit* of GOD: But as for the Book of Common-Prayer, they found such Marks of Human Infirmary in the Frame and Contexture, and the particular Offices of it, that they durst not make the Subscription and Declaration required, till they were satisfied

satisfied in reference to sundry Exceptions, which appear'd to them of great Weight and Consequence: For

1. THIS Subscription they found would take in the Doctrine of *real Baptismal Regeneration*, and *certain Salvation* consequent thereupon; and that, whether the Persons baptized were qualified Subjects of Baptism or not. Now when they should be obliged to Baptize all Comers, without Liberty of refusing the Children of Infidels, or the most scandalous Sinners (provided they had but Sponsors) to bless GOD presently for regenerating them by his Spirit, and lay it down as undoubtedly certain, that they were saved if they dy'd; this was what their Light would not suffice for; and therefore till then it was their undoubted Duty to avoid their Concurrence; for how could they without Sin, bless God with confidence for that which they did not believe was Real, and to lay that down as undoubtedly certain from *Scripture*, of which they saw not *in it* the least Foundation: For they found the Children of the wickedest Parents (such as lived openly in all the grossest and most notorious Sins, and wholly without God in the World) and manifestly Strangers to the Covenant, baptized without Scruple; and thereby declared to be Regenerate, and the Salvation of such sure and past all doubt, and that the Church doth not think their aiming at any farther *Regeneration* needful. This appear'd to the Ministers of such dangerous Consequence, that they durst not concur in it, or any way approve it, for fear of contributing thereby to the hardening a Multitude of vain, loose, careless, secure Creatures, in a fatal Mistake about the Safety of their State.

2. THIS Assent, and Consent, and Subscription, was also, among other Things, to the Use of *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* in Baptism, to the Exclusion of the Natural Parents. This they esteemed Sinful, not only because it justled out the Parent's Right to devote their Children to GOD in Baptism, upon which the Administration of that Ordinance to Infants was primarily founded; but also, because it opened a wide Door to the prophaning of one of the most awful Solemnities of our Holy Religion: In as much, as *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* are neither required to be chosen with due Care and Caution; and in the Case of many,



'tis really impossible to procure any serious Undertakers; nor are they tyed to bring the Children of Christians only, but without any Difference may bring the Children of any, *Atheists, Jews or Infidels* at Pleasure, without taking any farther Thought or Care about them; and as if thole Parents were themselves already within the Covenant, on which their Children's Right is founded, These *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* personate the Child as believing in CHRIST, and renouncing Sin, without any Authority for it, either from any natural Right or positive Law. And the Ordinance of Baptism will seem to be put upon that insufficient Bottom, by any who sedately compares the Office for that purpose, with the Church-Catechism. In the *Church Way* this Ordinance of Baptism is so managed, as if the *Godfather's* Faith was beneficial to the Child, and not the Parents; when as GOD requires no Faith or Repentance of Infants, but only that they be the *Seed of Penitent Believers*, and devoted to him as such. This was an Offence to many, the Sponsors making so solemn an Engagement in the Face of GOD and the Church, yet never or very rarely look'd upon themselves as concerned to perform it; but look upon all as meer Ceremony and Complement. Some of them never seeing the Child more, nor enquiring after it, notwithstanding all that they have there promised and undertaken to do for it.

3. THIS Assent, and Consent, and Subscription, would have oblig'd the Ministers to have denyed the Ordinance of Baptism to such as had not Sponsors, though they had a real Right to it, and to be solemnly recognized, as born Members of the visible Church. To these Baptism must be deny'd that have not *Godfathers* and *Godmothers*, even tho' the Parent be ready to do his own Part, professing his Faith, dedicating his Child to GOD, and promising a Religious Education. Such an Agreement the Ministers apprehended Sinful, they durst not deprive Souls of visible Christianity, and much less damn them, for want of an unnecessary, (if not corrupt) Invention; to make those Things necessary Terms of their Admission into the Church, which GOD had not done; nor make a Covenant to rob CHRIST and the Church of visible Members, for nothing; nor to consign these over to the uncovenanted Mercy of GOD, whom  
he

he (they well knew, being the Children of believing Parents) was ready to accept for his; having said, *forbid them not*, and he was angry with *those who forbad them to come to him*. It seemed also to them very unaccountable, that the same Persons should be so ready to deny Baptism to poor Infants for want of a *Formality*, when yet they apprehended it would give them a certain Assurance of Salvation, as was hinted before.

4. They obliged themselves to sign the Infants with the Sign of the *Cross* in the Administration of Baptism, and to deny that Ordinance to the Children of such as refuse it. As for the Use of it, some were more against it than others. But the Generality of the silenced Ministers regarded it as a Sacrament superadded to that which our blessed LORD had instituted, there being an *outward visible Sign* [the Image of the Cross] made by one that acts as a Minister of CHRIST; and the *Thing signified* is the Work of Redemption, purchasing Grace, and the Grace given as the Fruit of that Purchase; see Canon 30, how it's there express'd. The Offence of the Ministers at this was the more heighten'd, in that the Use or Omission of it, was not left to the Ministers Discretion, but where-ever it was refused, Baptism was to be denied. They thought the making this a necessary Term of Baptism, was a consenting to *alter* the Terms of CHRIST's Covenant and Sacrament, to contradict one of his Fundamental Laws, and that it was a manifest Encroachment upon CHRIST's Kingly Power, in making new Terms of Communion, which he had not made. That it was a turning the Keys upon those whom they knew CHRIST was ready to *receive*: And a positive *rejecting* such as he required them to *Baptize*.

5. BY this Assent, Consent, &c. they were obliged to reject all such from the Communion, as would not receive it *kneeling*; tho' hereby they were enjoyned to alter that Posture that was used by our Saviour and the Disciples in the Administration of it; and to symbolize with Idolaters, in using that Posture, which its well known is used by the Papists with an Intention of *Adoration*, as to the Elements; and which, tho' disclaimed by the Church of *England*, yet is apt to be misinterpreted, And besides to exclude all from the Communion that could not comply herein, was, they thought, a making

new Terms of Church-Communion; a contradicting CHRIST's appointed Terms; a depriving his Members of their Right, and an Usurpation upon Mens Consciences; and was therefore what they could not consent unto. It would be an obliging them to deny the Communion to such as dare not receive it kneeling, because they dare not go against the *Practice* of the *Apostles*, and the universal *Church* for many Hundred Years after them; and the *Canons* of the most Venerable Councils. It obliges them to deny it to such as the *Holy Ghost* had required them to receive to it; it would be an imposing on the Church Things antecedently unnecessary, upon the highest Penalty; and an using that Power to Destruction, which was given to be used to Edification. See these Reasons pursued and drawn out in *Mr. Baxter's Life*, fol. p. 346, 347. & 360, 361.

6. THIS Assent, Consent and Subscription, would be an Allowance and Approbation of that Assertion, that *Bishops, Priests and Deacons* are three distinct Orders in the Church by Divine Appointment. The whole Book of Ordination, wherein this is asserted, being indeed bottom'd upon that Supposition as its Foundation. Now many of the ejected Ministers were conscious to themselves, that they had diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and consulted ancient Authors, and yet could not see any Evidence therein of *three Orders and Offices*, and therefore to have yielded to that Declaration and Subscription, had been gross Prevarication. And herein they should at the same time have attempted to run down, as Novices, so many of our first Reformers, as *Calvin, Beza*, and others of them; besides many more such eminent Protestants as *Blondel, Salmasius, Bucer, Ames, Ainsworth*, and others, who had quite different Apprehensions of this Matter. Such Men also as *Selden, Bishop Stillingfleet, Bishop Reynolds, and Bishop Usher*, since their Time, who thought the Scripture instituted no particular Forms of Government, yet had not been, (we have Reason to believe) altogether unconvertant either with Scriptures or Fathers. Nay, they found that even the Church of *England* was formerly of another Mind, as may be seen in the *Canons of Elfrick* to Bishop *Wulfine*; which conclude, that the *Bishops and Presbyters* are not two distinct Orders; and held that there was no  
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Difference in Order between them, but only in Degree ; and Bishop *Stillington* proved, as they thought, by sufficient Evidence, that Archbishop *Cranmer*, and other Reformers of the Church of *England* were of that Mind. They could not therefore in Conscience yield to such a Subscription and Declaration, as was required, while they thought they had so good Reason to apprehend the contrary, and had so good Company in that Apprehension.

There were other Things besides, which they could not Assent and Consent to, as being against both the Dictate of Reason and their own Consciences. As

TO pronounce all *saved* that are *buried*, (except the Unbaptized, Excommunicate, and Self-Murderers) as the Words in the Office for Burial of the Dead plainly import ; tho' the Gospel speaks altogether in another Language to, and of impenitent Sinners. It is past all Contradiction, that Thousands are cut off by Death in the Midst of their Sins, and the grossest Wickedness, without the least Sign of Repentance ; now how can the Minister say of such, *That GOD hath in Mercy taken them to himself*, i. e. into Heaven ; so expressly contrary to the Scripture Revelation. They thought it might rather be feared, that GOD took them away in his Wrath, provoked by the long Abuse of his Patience, and their own Impenitency ; and tho' they owned themselves bound to judge according to the utmost Bounds of Charity concerning all, yet they could not see how Charity would excuse such dangerous Errors and Falshoods, so directly contrary to the Scripture Revelation ; and to pronounce at the Grave, such to be *certainly saved*, whom in their Pulpits and Writings, they thought themselves oblig'd by the same Word and Command to *condemn*, (while they continued such.) They should hereby be in danger of speaking falsely for GOD, misrepresenting his Word, and hardening the Ungodly and Prophane in their Hope of coming off safely at last, tho' they persisted in their wicked and dissolute Courses, as long as they live.

THE *Apocryphal* Lessons also they could not consent to as a Part of the Holy Scriptures, in which, (as even the most celebrated Bishops and Doctors of the Church have owned) there were many Relations inserted, that were False and Fictitious. And they durst not thereby  
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mislead and encourage others to think them of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures ; of which there is the more Danger, (too many in the Nation being Weak and Ignorant ; ) because in the Order of reading the Lessons, the Title of *Holy Scripture* and *Old Testament* is given to the *Apocrypha*. But they owned notwithstanding that tho' some Things in it were Fabulous and Fictitious, yet that there were also many valuable Things in those Apocryphal Books, the reading of which, as of other Humane Writings, might be useful.

MANY Mis-translations also they found in the *Psalter*, or old Version of the *Psalms* ; tho' it is particularly mentioned, and must be assented and consented to, as having nothing in it contrary to the Word of GOD. Some of which are directly contrary to the reading of our Bible, being indeed more accommodated to the *Septuagint*, than to the Original *Hebrew* ; as in *ps. 105. 28.* our *Psalter* reads it, *They were not Obedient to his Word* ; our Bible reads them, *And they rebelled not against his Word*. If therefore the Translation be true in the *Psalter*, it is false in the *Bible* ; and if true in the *Bible*, it is false in the *Psalter*. They could not therefore give their Assent that they rebelled, and rebelled not. And 'tis the like in some other Cases. Now they could not approve of that *Psalter*, as entirely agreeable to the Word of GOD, in which they found sundry plain Mistakes.

THE Creed of St. *Athanasius* also, they could not Assent and Consent entirely to every Expression of it ; (without any Exception) tho' they approved of it in general, and esteemed it an excellent Application of the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. They could not look upon themselves as so far called to judge other Men, as to conclude all certainly damned for ever that are not so well skilled in that Mystery as not to be able to believe every Word there written, while in this imperfect State. The *Greek Church* differing from the *Latin*, in one of the Articles of it, concerning the Proceeding of the Holy Ghost ; now (notwithstanding this) they thought it very harsh to pronounce the *Greek Church* undoubtedly damned ; and that it was an uncharitable Censure, in which they durst not concur. For considering the Goodness of GOD, &c, they were of so large and extensive a Charity as to apprehend,

prehend, that whoever walked sincerely up to his Light, with a general Repentance for his unseen Errors, was in a State of Acceptance with GOD, by vertue of the Covenant made with fallen *Adam*, and *Noah*, &c. Now they thought it unreasonable to be forced to renounce so much Candour as this amounted to, by adhering to this Principle, *That whosoever did not punctually believe the Athanasian Creed, in every Part of it, must undoubtedly perish.*

THOUGH they were also desirous to have Confirmation restored, and thought it would be exceeding useful, if managed with becoming Gravity, and Seriousness; yet to deny Persons the Communion for refusing to be confirmed in the Episcopal Way, was what they knew not how to justify. They found it was a Thing scrupled by many, and were those Scruples just or unjust, while the same Persons were willing to own their Baptismal Covenant, understandingly and seriously before the Church and their own Pastors, and to know those that laboured amongst them, and were over them in the LORD, and esteem them in Love for their Work's sake, and to be at Peace amongst themselves; they durst not, for their scrupling in this the Manner prescribed, cast them from the Communion of the Church of CHRIST; nor by their *Assent*, *Consent*, and *Subscription* to it, declare that this is not contrary so far to the Rule of GOD's Word.

III. THEY were also required to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and swear Subjection to their Ordinary, according to the several *Canons* of the Church; swearing Obedience to him and other Chief Ministers, to whom should be committed the Charge and Government over them, and to submit themselves to their Judgments: But they could not comply unlimitedly and absolutely herein, for the Reasons following.

BECAUSE, tho' Obedience to those Canons was limited to Things *lawful* and *honest*, yet it appeared plainly to extend to future *Commands* and *Canons*, it being evidently supposed and taken for granted, that the Canons already in force do require no other than such Things, without leaving Persons at liberty, which Canons they'll obey, and which they'll refuse, which was a Latitude they had not found any of the Bishops free to allow



allow to any of their Clergy. Now perusing the Canons, they could not be satisfied that many Things required by those *Canons* deserved that Character. Nay, they were not convinced, but that many Things by those *Canons* required to have been the Matter of their constant Practice, would to them have been *unlawful*

*See this in the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, p. 241. to 258.*

and *dishonest*; and therefore they durst not come under any such ensnaring Obligation. And what Reason they had for thus scrupling Conformity to the *Canons*, according to the Demand of this Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, may best appear by perusing the particular *Canons*, to which they scrupled Conformity, with their Objections against them.

IV. THEY were obliged to abjure the *solemn League and Covenant*, which when they had taken, and been convinced, some Part of it was both lawful and necessary, they could not declare themselves free from all Obligation by it, without violating their Consciences: Nay, tho' many of the Ministers who were ejected, had not taken this *Covenant*, and more of them were all along against the imposing it; yet would not their Consciences allow them to yield to such a Renunciation as this, for which a Parallel can hardly be found in any Age. They were convinced, that tho' a Vow should be sinfully imposed, and sinfully taken, it yet binds in any Matter that is lawful and necessary; and this they found was the Determination of the most celebrated Casuists. Now Part of this *Covenant* being, as they apprehended, both lawful and necessary, they could not declare Persons free from all Obligation by it, without violating the Rights of Conscience; but for every one in Holy Orders to determine for all in three Kingdoms that took the *Covenant*, that they were no way obliged by it, they esteemed an unpresidented Instance of Assuming. They remembred, that King *Charles* himself had taken it in *Scotland*, with all possible Appearance of Seriousness and Solemnity, and durst not hazard that King's Soul by concurring in so lax a Publick Determination, as should confirm him in the Belief that he was oblig'd to nothing by the *Covenant*, as far as what it contain'd was lawful; nor could they see how they should have been able to answer it to GOD, if they had. They durst not run the hazard of

of tempting the King himself, and Thousands of his Subjects in the three Kingdoms, to incur the Guilt of *Perjury*, or of hardening them under that Guilt; they would have been free to have subscribed, that the *Covenant* bound no Man to be false to the Government they were under, or rebellious against the King, or to endeavour to alter our Monarchy, or to deprive the King of any of his just Rights and Prerogatives; they would willingly have engaged, never to endeavour to change any Part of Church-Government, which CHRIST had instituted for Continuance, or which had a Tendency to contribute to Purity, Peace or Order; nay, they would have abjured all Attempts to introduce any Sort of Change in the Ecclesiastical Settlement in an irregular, tumultuous and illegal Way; but farther they durst not go, for fear of contributing to a National Guilt.

V. By the Act of Uniformity, all Ministers were obliged to subscribe a Political Declaration, or Acknowledgment, which obliged, (excluding all Manner of Exception) to a passive and blind Obedience, which seemed to them to be in some Cases altogether unreasonable; esteeming *Self-defence* to be Part of the Law of Nature; and that the Body of a Nation, by that Law, have a *Self-defending Power* against their notorious assailing Foes: In which Point they found concurring with them, not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, Philolophers, Orators, and Historians, but the ancient Bishops of the Church, and Christian Clergy in the Primitive Times, the most celebrated Writers of Politicks, whether *Papists* or *Protestants*, modern Historians, Civilians and Canonists, together with such eminent Persons, even in the Church of *England*, as have writ concerning it; as Bishop *Bilson*, Bishop *Jer. Taylor*, and Mr. *Hooker*, concurring therein with them; and they should by such a Subscription at one Dash have run down all these presently, as being deceived, and in the wrong: And indeed after all, they were satisfied that they who were most forward for this Declaration, and most fierce and eager in running down those that scrupled it, would not keep to it themselves, if at any time they found Things come to Extremity, as the Event has verified. For after all the Noise made of the Traiterousness of that Position  
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of taking Arms by the King's Authority against his Person, or those Commissionated by him, and of the Unlawfulness of doing so in *any Case whatsoever*; yet when in order to the securing Religion, Liberty, and Property, upon the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, all Ranks and Qualities, both of Clergy and Laity, (who would not before allow of it in *any Case whatsoever*) ventured to joyn with a Foreign Prince, whom they called in to their Assistance against the Person of King *James*, their then Sovereign, and against those who were Commissionated by him. And those ejected Ministers who indured such Hardships for refusing this Declaration, came off with this honourable Testimony, which must be given them by Posterity, that by *that Refusal*, they paved the Way for that Glorious Revolution, to which was owing, thro' the Divine Goodness, not only the Blessings we then enjoyed, but also all our present Happiness and future Hopes. While the Promoters of that Declaration could not have acted, (without bidding Defiance to their most darling Principle, which for Twenty Years together had made the Pulpits ring, and the Press groan;) and yet with what Face this Principle of *Passive Obedience* can be again revived and preach'd up by such as profess to retain any Measure of Modesty, let any impartial Person judge; tho' it is not at all to be wondered, that such as are of a Disposition so contrary to the Revolution, as the famous Dr. *Sacheverell*, and whose *Practice* has appear'd so Correspondent to that Disposition, (for Ends best known to themselves) of late have attempted it. And tho' these two last Points of renouncing the Covenant, and subscribing the Political Declaration before-mentioned, have not for some time been insisted on by such as enter the Ministry in the Establish'd Church; the former being fixed by the Act but till 1692, and then it dropt of Course; and the latter continued till our late Revolution, and was then superseded, as it was high time it should; yet these, and what else have been mentioned before, were the Terms of being admitted into the Established Church. All was strictly enjoyned without any Thing to qualify or soften them, or Room for a Dispensation: So that if any Person scrupled but one Point, and could have complied in all the rest, he was as certainly and unavoidably ejected,



as if he had scrupled all; and all of them were indeed scrupled by many, who weighing them maturely, could not look upon them (as Circumstances stood) as Things indifferent or barely inconvenient, but refused them as flatly sinful, according to the best Light they could gain by their utmost Inquiries; and for those Reasons the ejected Ministers durst not comply with the Act of Uniformity, and National Establishment. If they erred in this Matter, it was for Fear of Erring, for which they deserved Respect, rather than the Reproach they have met with; because they acted like Men of Integrity, according to the Light they had; and all the fore-mention'd Considerations gave them abundant Satisfaction in quitting their Livings, when they found the Terms of keeping them were such as were inconsistent with the Peace and Safety of their Consciences. There were none of them but would have yielded to what would have been sufficient to have made them Ministers in the *Apostles* Time, or after. Had they laid down their Ministry, when they were deny'd the Liberty of exercising it Publickly, they fear'd the Guilt of Perfidious breaking their *Ordination Vow*, by which they were oblig'd to the diligent Performance of it; and also of *Sacrilegious* alienating themselves, who had been before set apart for the Work of the Ministry, and consecrated to GOD, which they apprehended a *Sacrilege*, in several respects worse than the alienating Utensils, Lands, and Goods, so consecrated; these being only to serve the Persons who were employ'd in the Divine Service; and many of their People claiming the Continuance of their Religion and Ministry, having given up themselves to their Conduct in Divine Things, begg'd they would not desert them, and profess'd they could not trust their Souls to the Pastoral Care and Guidance of many of those who were plac'd in the Churches in their stead. And they fear'd the Sin of Unfaithfulness, Cruelty, and Unmercifulness, and incurring the Guilt of ruining Souls, had they not continued to fulfil their Ministry as they were able, when sought to for their Help; finding themselves under a solemn Obligation to an higher Authority, which required their Faithfulness in it, than that of the Magistrate, which forbid it. Besides, many Ministers in the Publick having more Souls under their Charge, than

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several would be sufficient for; and it was also too evident, that several of the publick Ministers that were placed in their stead, were insufficient and unqualified, and that the ignorant Parts of the Country needed more Help than the Parish Ministers did or could afford them.

They apprehended themselves besides under an indispensable Obligation to it, appearing in many Parts of the Scripture, intimating the Duration of the *Ministerial Office*, where there is once a Conveyance, and that there is a Necessity of preaching, tho' the Magistrate forbid it, *Matt. 5. 13. 14. & 28. 19, 20, &c.* They, after the narrowest Search, apprehended it indispensably their Duty, as Men and Ministers by the Obligation of God's Law of Charity, and by the binding Force of their own Vows, when they entered into the Ministry. They were then dedicated to the Service of GOD in his House, to do their best in the Exercise of all their Talents, to seek the Salvation of Souls, which none could warrantably forbid or deny them, so long as they could not be charg'd with either *Apostacy, Heresie or Perfidiousness*, or any Thing inconsistent with the publick Peace: And therefore persisting in that Work which GOD and the Necessities of Souls called them to, they thought Patience their Duty, as to all Sufferings they might meet with, upon the account of it.

THUS continuing their Ministry, and in the Discharge of their Duty. there wanted not Hearers, who thought themselves likewise oblig'd to continue under their Ministry, by which they had experienc'd so much Benefit before they were ejected; and being cast off without any suitable Crime alledged against them, they thought it Inhumane and Barbarous to desert them; and besides, being some of them convinced of the Justice of the Cause they were engaged in, *viz. The pressing a farther Reformation in Ecclesiastical Matters as necessary to promote the great Ends of Religion*, and preventing Coldness and Formality in it, they thought it their Duty to espouse the same Cause, and to adhere to the same Principle in Opposition to those who reckoned the Church so perfect as to need no Amendment; and still to support and incourage those, whose Duty it was to continue the Exercise of their Ministry, and to prefer them before many who shewed little Regard to the Souls  
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of such as were committed to them : They apprehended it an inviolable Right which GOD and Nature had given them, to chuse a Pastor for their Souls, under whose Ministry they were most likely to profit ; and had already experienced Benefit ; as well as to chuse a Physician for their Body, or Lawyer for their Estate ; and would not therefore without good Reason part with it. And the like Concern they apprehended also they had to provide for their Families, which by GOD and Nature were also put immediately under their Care, The Ministers faithful Discharge of this Duty, being a Matter of so great Importance, wherein their Salvation, as well as the Parent's Interest are so nearly concerned.

THE Want of *Discipline* in the Church was another considerable Plea, which had already been urged by our Pious Progenitors, who have been in this respect calling for greater Care and Strictness, ever since the Reformation of the Church and Nation from *Popery* ; they found that GOD had designed the Church to be a Society gathered out of the World, sanctified to him, and to be prepared for Glory, and that therefore he would have none in it, but such as professed Faith, and Love, and Holiness, and renounced their fleshly, and sensual, worldly, and prophane Life : That the Pastors were to judge who was to be taken in, and who cast out ; and all the Members in their Places bound to preserve their own Purity, and that of the Society to which they belonged. But the National Constitution appeared to them calculated to another Design, the Ignorant, Ungodly Multitude are forced into Communion, while palpably unfit, these become the Strength and greater Part, and are Opposite to this *Discipline*, because it would restrain and curb them. The Power which other Ministers had, that would have been more Faithful therein, being wrested from them, and lodged in Hands, many of which manage it Carelessly and Prophanely, to the *skreening* of such as should be *censured*, and the *censuring* of pious Persons that should be *encouraged*. This is what hath been long by good Men groaned under, by those who yet were against a Separation, whilst there was any Hope of Amendment ; but finding a continued Stiffness in many of those who should have been most forward to reform it ; sticking to their old Method



without any Alteration ; They thought themselves obliged to bear their Testimony against that fatal Neglect, which they find acknowledged even in the Publick Liturgy, owned therein to be lost, and the Recovery of such DISCIPLINE highly desirable ; notwithstanding there hath yet been no suitable Provision made for the Remedy of it.

MANY of the Laity were also afraid of sinning in Baptizing their Children with *Godfathers* and *Godmothers*, tho' ready to devote them to GOD by *Baptism* in the Way which he hath appointed, and to promise to train them up in his Fear. They durst not put others upon Covenanting for their Children, with whom they had no Concern, or desire them (with an appearing Solemnity) to promise what they cannot reasonably think they intend to perform, or think themselves obliged to do it. Their Children's Right to Baptism depending upon the *Parent's* Interest in the Divine Covenant, and Property in their Children, the bringing middle Persons in their Room appears to be a fixing that Ordinance upon a false Bottom ; and if they were by any allowed (at their desire) to give up their own Children, they find it could not be fairly reconciled with the Constitution, it being positively declared in the Twenty-ninth Canon by the whole Convocation in 1663, *That no Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own Child.* And their Children being thus deprived of that Ordinance, without such an Humane Addition, (which they could not understand) they think themselves at liberty to apply to other Ministers to Baptize them, who are free to do it without any such necessities, unscriptural, and dissatisfying Imposition.

THE *Sign of the Cross* they also esteemed an unwarrantable Addition to CHRIST's Institution, and that such a Humane Invention ought not, (nor cannot without great Danger) be required as a Term of Communion, or made essential to so solemn an Ordinance, having no Warrant from Scripture, or any Commission from *Christ*.

THEIR *kneeling* at the *Communion* is that which likewise some question the Lawfulness of, and durst not injure their Consciences by yielding to it, not being a Table Posture, and suitable thereto ; and finding Our Saviour's own Example, and the Apostles, so contrary

to it. And tho' others apprehended it not in it self unlawful, and could (to testify as much, and shew their Charity therein to the Establish'd Church) yield to it, yet they could not be satisfied to do it constantly, not bearing their Testimony thereby against the imposing Terms of Communion which are of Humane Invention, as they apprehended it their Duty to do.

AND then the imposing of Oaths (after all) not to endeavour any Alteration in these Things, or of Government in the Church; to bind them to rest contented with what they could not but esteem corrupt, became a Burden to many serious Christians, which they were not able to bear; to find a greater Stress commonly laid upon those Ceremonies enjoined, than upon Knowledge, Faith, or real Holiness: And tho' they found to their great Grief and Sorrow, such *Oaths* afterward made so light of by many, when they had been taken by them; yet they could not for this think them the less binding, or stand less in Awe of the Solemnity of them. If they were intrusted in any Corporation, they must have been (for a long time) forc'd to Swear that there was no Obligation at all from the Oath called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, either on them or any other: This seem'd to them a proclaiming of Perjury Lawful, as to that Part of the Covenant which was unquestionably Lawful, as the renouncing of Schism, Popery, and Prophaneness were; and they must also Swear an Abhorrence of taking up Arms against any Commissioned by the King, which Subjects might possibly be obliged to by his breaking the Original Contract with his People; which was afterwards actually found to be our Case under a *Popish Prince*: Multiply'd Burthens of this Nature by the *Vestry Act*, the *Corporation Act*, *Oxford and Militia Acts*, &c. which were all framed by the ruling Clergy, &c. were a Means to prejudice many understanding Persons against the Church Party; and when there was any Effort made for their Relief, to hear it become the Common Cry, *The Church is in Danger*; and at the same time observing, that they who could not abate any Thing in the Ceremonial Part, were yet ready enough many times to make considerable Abatements in those Things in which lies the *main* of real Religion; that they who were so fond of Ceremonies and the Constitution, had so little Charity

left for those whose Sentiments differ'd from theirs, and were ready to Question the Validity of their Ministry and Ordinances ; nay, and even the Possibility of their Salvation too (if they questioned but the Divine Right of *Modern* Episcopacy.) Such Observations as these made many of the Laity think it unsafe to adhere or submit to them.

NOW the National Constitution being so contrived as to keep out many, both Ministers and People, who were truly Consciencious, upon such Accounts as these mentioned, what must they do? Without the Cross and Sponsors, no Baptism was to be had ; without Kneeling, no Communion ; without submitting (in many Parishes) to insufficient unqualify'd Guides, there was no Room left by the Law for Ministerial Instruction and Pastoral Help ; and were the Things required in themselves Lawful, there was no falling in wholly with them, without Practical submitting to a Pretence of Authority of making *new Terms* of Communion, which was more than it could ever appear our Blessed LORD had intrusted any Mortal with ; must they then be contented without any Ordinances, or to be deprived of the necessary Means of Salvation? That would have been unbecoming Christians, and unaccountable in such as know the Worth of Souls, and the Weight of Things Eternal ; and if not, they must take fitting Opportunities of worshipping GOD according to their Consciences, in a Freedom from enslaving Impositions ; being careful to maintain Love and Charity towards those from whom they differ : And this was the Course they accordingly took, having sometimes the Smiles and sometimes the Frowns of the Government ; being sometimes tolerated and sometimes abridg'd ; till at last the Fruitlessness of Rigour and Severity being generally evident, they were taken under the Publick Protection, and had their Liberty allow'd them by the three Estates of the Realm, King, Lords, and Commons, upon the Accession of King *William* to the Throne.

THE Charge of *Schism* to an unthinking Multitude appeared very heavy, not discerning distinctly the Merits of the Cause in debate ; but they weighing the Matter, and considering the Grounds of that Charge against them, found themselves Innocent, and made their Appeal to the unprejudiced and impartial in divers Apologetick Writings,



Writings. *This*, as represented in Scripture, lies not so much in Variety of Opinions, or different Practices, Modes, or Forms, or different Places of Worship, as in a Want of true Love and Charity; this they evidenced, by distinctly considering the several Passages of Scripture where it is mentioned, in which all of them so evidently point at Uncharitableness, as the discriminating Badge of *Schismatics*, as gave them abundant Satisfaction they were free from Guilt in that Respect, tho' separating of Communion; there may be *Schism*, or a Schismatical Spirit working in a Church where there is no local Separation, and there may be a Separation, and yet no *Schism* on the Part of them that separate; and there can be none in Scripture Account, where there is not an uncharitable Alienation in Christians Hearts from each other, because of their differing Apprehensions about lesser Things of Religion; and there are many among the *Dissenters* who cannot justly be charged with the Want of a free, large, and extensive Charity: Their Separation was not chosen, and voluntary, but forced and constrained; and if there were any therefore, it most properly lay at their Door, who laid the Foundation of it by those *Impositions*, and might remove it and prevent the dismal Consequences so much complained of, by leaving the Things so straitly enjoined to their Natural Indifference. They found the main Inlet of all the Distractions, Confusions and Divisions of the Christian World hath been the adding of other Conditions of Church Communion, than CHRIST has done; and there was not in this Case any Obligation in Conscience to make those Impositions, so much as pleaded or pretended, from the *Nature* of the Things imposed; and by the removing of these the *Schism* would vanish. The *Dissenters* did not voluntarily separate, but were forc'd to it; they were not active but passive, and are willing to wait patiently with Love and Charity towards those by whom they were rejected, till they shall be sensible of such unbrotherly Treatment of them, and open a Door for their Restoration; but that you may see this Matter set in a true Light, and more largely and fully treated of, Read *Corbet's Point of Church Unity and Schism* discussed. Baxter's *Search for the English Schismatick*. Owen's *Vindication of the Nonconformists, from the Charge of Schism*. Alsop's *Melius Inquirendum*, pt. 2.

p. 209. Wadsworth's *Separation no Schism*. Also Henry's *Brief Inquiry into the Nature of Schism*; and Tongue's *Ingenious Defence of that Inquiry*; and more Compendiously, in Dr. Calamy's *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life*, chap. 10. 2 Edit. p. 280, &c. with *Answers to such other Objections, as are there inserted against the Dissenters*.

THE ejected Ministers continued thus for Ten Years in a State of Silence and Obscurity; it was their great Aim and Endeavour to be found in the Way of their Duty to GOD, and to the King; but they could not be suffer'd to live in Peace: For such was the Policy of a Party at Court at that Time, that they must either be crushed by their fellow Protestants, to the strengthening of the *Romish Interest*, or if favoured with any Connivance, they must have the *Papists* Partners with them, that so the Protestant Interest (which was a Thing too visibly aimed at) might be that way weakened. This was a great hardship that attended their Circumstances: The Act of *Uniformity* took Place, August the 24th, 1662; and tho' on the 26th of *December* following, the King published a Declaration, expressing his purpose to grant some Indulgence or Liberty in Religion, not excluding the *Papists*, many of whom, he said, had deserved so well of him; and that some of the *Nonconformists* were hereupon much encouraged, yet others were apprehensive of the Consequence, and durst not when they considered all the Circumstances, thank the King for this Declaration, lest they should make Way for the Toleration of the *Papists*. The Declaration took not at all, either with Parliament or People: The House of Commons voted against it; but it was for such Reasons they did it, as they themselves, when afterward they came to discern the Growth of *Poper*y, found to have little Strength or Substance in them, and therefore found it reasonable to vote the contrary: However, thus the *Nonconformists* were still exposed to great Severities, and not only deprived of Liberty to Preach in Publick, but their very Meeting sometimes for Prayer together in private, was so carefully watch'd, that it was not without the Hazard of being accounted a Seditious *Conventicle*; and many holy and excellent Ministers were laid in *Gaols* in many Counties in the Land, upon Informations given for the heavy Crime of Preaching and Praying: They were blamed by many for not petition-  
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ing the Parliament, tho' they had Reason enough against it; an Indulgence or *Comprehension* was sometimes talk'd of, and many Members of Parliament encouraged the Expectation either of one or the other; and it was thereupon warmly debated, which of the two would be most desirable: But it came to nothing; and instead thereof, in June 1663, the Act came out against private Meetings, call'd the *Conventicle Act*, which affected not only Ministers, but People that were at any private Meetings for Religious Exercises. It was a very great Hardship that attended this Act, that the Justices of Peace had thereby so much Power given them, as to Record any Person an Offender without a Jury; and if they did it causelessly, there was no Remedy, seeing every *Justice* was in that Case made a *Judge*.

TILL the Year 1665, the silenced Ministers continued to Preach very privately, and but to a few (not so much thro' their Timorousness, as in hopes that their Forbearance might at length procure them some Liberty) but when the Plague grew hot, and the Ministers in the City Churches fled, and left their Flocks in the Time of their Extremity, several of the *Nonconformists* pitying the dying and distressed People that had none to call the Impenitent to Repentance, nor to help them to prepare for their Eternal State, nor to Comfort them in their Terrors, when about *Ten Thousand* dy'd in a Week, they were convinced, that no Obedience to the Laws of any Mortal Man whatsoever could justify their neglecting Men's Souls and Bodies in such Extremities, and thereupon resolved to continue there with the People, to enter the forsaken Pulpits, tho' prohibited, and give them what Assistance they could under such an awakening Providence; being constant in fervent lively Preaching amongst them, in visiting the Sick, and getting what Relief they could for the Necessitous, especially such as were *shut up*; and the People heard them with a peculiar *Ardour and Attention*. And thro' the Blessing of GOD, many were converted from their Carelessness, Impenitence, and youthful Vanities, and their Ministry was very successful; and Religion at that time took that Hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loosed.

BUT whilst GOD was consuming the People by this Judgment, and the *Nonconformists* were labouring to save  
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Mens Souls, with the Hazard of their own Lives, the Parliament that sat at *Oxford* were busy in making an Act of Confinement, to make the Case of the silenced Ministers incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain *Oath*, which if they refused, they must not come within 5 Miles of any *City* or *Corporation*, or where they had been Ministers or preach'd before. The main Promoters of this Act was Archbishop *Sheldon*, and Bishop *Ward*; and tho' it was by the then Lord Treasurer (who ever adher'd to the King, but understood the Interest of his Country, and of Humanity) vehemently opposed, yet the Lord Chancellor and his Party carried it. When this Act came out, those Ministers that had any Maintenance of their own, found out some Dwellings in obscure Villages, or where that Act allow'd; and some that had nothing, were separated from their Wives and Families: But the most resolv'd to continue to Preach till they went to Prison; partly because they were then in the Way of their Calling and Duty, which they could not quit, and could therefore suffer therein with the greater Peace; and partly because they might do some Good before they suffered, and partly because the People much desired it; and tho' their Straits were either way so great, yet they prefer'd the faithful Performance of their Work, with a Prison afterwards, as far more eligible, than to desert their Ministry and the Peoples Souls, so long as they so earnestly desired it, and they could be permitted to do it, and to leave themselves to their Compassion; and tho' many that were willing, had generally no great Ability, the Country being then so much impoverish'd, yet GOD did mercifully provide some Supplies for them, that scarce any of them perish'd for Want, or were expos'd to sordid Beggary.

THE Lord Chancellor *Hide* dying, the *Nonconformists* enjoyed the Liberty of exercising their Meetings in *London* more openly, and the Country Ministers were thereupon encouraged to do the like in most Parts of *England*, under the Connivance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was a Man for Liberty, and in favour with the King. Some farther Overtures were shortly after this made towards a *Comprehension* and *Toleration*, by the Lord Keeper *Bridge-man*: He sent Proposals concerning a *Comprehension* to some of the Ministers, who thereupon met Dr. *Wilkins*  
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and Mr. *Burton*; the Proposals then drawn up, see in Dr *Calamy's* Abridgment, pag. 317, &c. and after a long Debate a Bill was accordingly drawn by the Lord Chief Justice *Hale* to be presented to the Parliament: But they no sooner sat, than the *High-Church* Party made such an Interest, that putting it to the Vote, it was carried that no Man should bring a Bill of that Nature into the House, the Stream being still strongest that way; and tho' Liberty was sometimes afterwards still talk'd of, and the King professed his Desire of it, and promised again to do his utmost to get the *Nonconformists* comprehended within the *Publick* Establishment, yet it was still without any Effect, and the Talk of Liberty did but occasion the writing many bitter Pamphlets against *Toleration*, and the former Act was renewed and made more severe than ever: But yet the King professed himself (notwithstanding the Laws that were made) to be against Persecution, and became the *Patron* of their Liberty by his Connivance as to the Execution of them; the Magistrates for the most part doing what they perceived to be his Will. They enjoyed quietly for some time their Meetings in the City, and the *Dutch War* beginning presently after, made the Court think an Indulgence to the Dissenters now necessary, that there might be Peace at Home while there was War Abroad; and upon this Occasion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the Dissatisfaction of those who had a hand in framing all the severe Laws against them.

AFTER they had for several Years struggled with the greatest Difficulties, and convinced the World that they were neither to be influenced by Severity to renounce their Principles, nor provoked by the utmost Hardships to Sedition, or to use any undue or indirect Means for the removing those *Burdens* they had so long lain under (which was an Advantage their Enemies waited for, and would have rejoiced in:) At length they had a little Time allow'd them to take Breath by the King's *Indulgence*; the Declaration bore date *March 15. 1671-2*, and this to all that gave way to Reflection, was a sufficient Exposition of the Transactions of the Twelve Years past since his Majesty's *Restoration*. It was now publickly own'd (as well as it was in itself a great Truth) that there was very little Fruit of all those forcible Courses, and many frequent Ways of *Coercion*, that had been used  
for

for the reducing of all erring (if they had been so) or dissenting Persons from the present Establishment in the Church. His Majesty, by virtue of his Supreme Power in Matters Ecclesiastical, took upon him to suspend all Penal Laws about them, declaring that he would grant a convenient Number of publick Meeting Places to the *Dissenters*, and all others that did not Conform; to whom accordingly Licences were to be granted, provided nothing was preach'd seditiously, nor against the Discipline or Government of the Church of *England*: But the *Papists* were to have no other but their own Houses, and that without any Limitation or Restriction, or any Necessity of Approbation. Tho' this Liberty again was in itself very acceptable to the *Nonconformists*, yet they were not without Apprehension of Danger of the Consequences: For they well knew the *Toleration* was not chiefly for their sakes, but for the *Papists*, and that they should hold it no longer than *Their* Interest would allow it them; and withal they fear'd the Divisions, which would have been much better healed by a *Comprehension*. However, they concluded on a cautious and moderate Thanksgiving for the King's Clemency, and their own Liberty, and were introduced by my Lord *Arlington*: For tho' they were very desirous of Liberty in another way, yet still they were fearful what this Method would Issue in. The Parliament meeting in *February* following, the King's Declaration was voted as Illegal, and the King promised it should not be brought into President. The Reason they gave was very remarkable; they said his Majesty's pretended Power of suspending the Laws in Matters Ecclesiastical, might tend to the Interruption of the free Course of the Laws, and the altering of the Legislative Power, which has been always acknowledged to reside in his Majesty and his Two Houses of Parliament. The King's Promise concerning this Declaration, that it should not be a President, is mention'd by *Coleman* in his first Letter to *Father le Chaise*, wherein he calls it the *fatal Renunciation* of it. Upon the Account before-mention'd, the *Dissenters* also were so far concurring with the Proceedings of the House of Commons herein, that none were more Zealous in opposing the King's Declaration in the House than Alderman *Love*, a City Member, and a noted *Dissenter*, who declared he had much rather still go with-  
out



out the desired Liberty, than have it in a Way that would prove so detrimental to the Nation: He desired nothing with relation to them might intervene, to stop the Security that the Nation and the Protestant Religion might have at that Time by the *Test Act*, and in this he was seconded by most of his Party in the House; so that this Act was obtained, in some Measure, by their Assistance, the Parliament at this time growing into great Jealousies of the Prevalence of *Popery*. Bishop *Burnet* in a Speech in the House of Lords afterward about the *Occasional Bill* that was brought in, Anno 1703, taking particular Notice of this, with relation to the *Dissenters*, argues the Hardship and Unreasonableness of turning it now against them; for the King was then highly offended with them for giving up his Declaration.

THE Commons at length consulted of a *Bill* for the Ease of Protestant Dissenters, and many Members professed their Resolution to carry it on, and a *Bill* passed the House accordingly; but this *Bill* was also stopt in the House of Lords, and the Dissenters still left to the Storm of the severe Laws that remained now still in force against them, which by some *Country Justices* were rigorously put in execution; tho' the most forbore; but the Motion of the Lower House of Parliament in this Affair was the more remarkable, because it was the same House of Commons who ten Years before so warmly voted the contrary, which was a good Argument they were now convinced of a greater Danger of *Popery*, than they could before be persuaded to believe. The Earl of *Clarendon* in his *Compleat History*, Vol. 3. p. 294. says, "The Commons in this Parliament were by long Experience more and more sensible, that the *Papists* were (for their own Pleasure and Advantage) playing and striking the Conformists and Dissenters one against another, and therefore they were for giving the Dissenters a legal Toleration, in order to the preventing any Thing of this kind for the future." They were now convinced, that such a Toleration was needful, tho' ten Years before they would not yield to it upon any Terms. And Bishop *Burnet* in the Speech above-mentioned freely ascribes the Mildness of the House of Commons towards the Dissenters at this time, to their Pleasedness with their Concurrence with them, (when the Nation was so  
apparently

apparently in Danger by it) in giving up the King's Declaration, tho' they were themselves liable to Hardship and Suffering again thereby. This, he says, wrought so much on the House that *was* so Zealous for the Church, that they order'd a *Bill* again to be brought in for the Ease of Protestant *Dissenters*; It did not indeed take effect, yet to the Dissolution of that Parliament, the Meetings of Protestant Dissenters were held very publicly, and they never pass'd a Vote, nor made any Address afterward against them. But

THE Warmth and Boldness of both Houses against the *Papists* growing very high; in their next Session in the Winter following, the Earl of *Orrery* desired Mr. *Baxter* to draw up Terms of Union between the *Conformists* and the *Nonconformists*, in order to their joyn't Vigorous opposing *Popery*: And he told him that Sir *Thomas Osburn*, the new Lord Treasurer, Bishop *Morley* of *Winchester*, and several other great Men, were mightily for it, upon which he sent him some Proposals, the chief of which may be seen in the Abridgment before-mentioned, p. 338, &c. and a little after some great Men of the House of Commons drew up a *Bill* also for Accommodation; but several of the Bishops still were against it, and it plainly appear'd they would not make the least Abatement in any Thing of Moment, Bishop *Morley* himself apparently concurring with them therein; and all Thoughts of this Nature were ended by the unexpected Prorogation of the Parliament; whereby both Houses were much troubled, and Multitudes greatly exasperated, and alienated both from the Court, and the Leading Bishops, as the great Causes of all the Distractions; While those of the Clergy that were Men of the Times, and looked for Preferment thereby, gave themselves a Liberty to write and preach at Random; to stir up the King and Parliament, and all they came near, to Violence and Cruelty against the Liberty, and the very Lives of the *Nonconformists*, who still lived quietly by them.

THE Danger of *Popery* being apparent, farther Overtures were made by some of the *Bishops*, for making Abatements, and taking in the *Nonconformists*, as a Means to strengthen the Protestant Interest, and they mov'd it to many; having (they said) the Encouragement of several

veral Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, to do it; various Draughts were again consider'd, and one pitch'd on, which being communicated to the *Nonconformists*, was Satisfactory: But when it came to the *Bishops*, there was an End of the Treaty; a great many Things could not be obtained, the Terms agreed on were much of the same Nature with those mentioned before, proposed to the Lord *Orrery* with very little Variation. In 1678, the *Popish Plot* broke out, which exceedingly alarmed the whole Nation, and the Parliament spent most of their Time in searching it out, and in endeavouring to prevent the fatal Consequences of it; and tho' they had so long complied with the Court in all their Desires, and to gratify the Clergy, cast so many worthy Ministers out of the Church by the Act of Uniformity, and afterwards laid such heavy Burdens on the poor *Nonconformists*; yet after they were awaken'd, and grew more and more concern'd for the Publick Welfare, having a Sense of the common Danger, they were suddenly dissolved.

I T being generally esteemed the common Concern in the next Election, to chuse firm Protestants, who should heartily apply themselves to make Provision for the Common Security; This House of Commons had again before them a Bill for a *Comprehension*, and another for an *Indulgence*, which were read twice, and were before the Committee termed a Bill for uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, and was agreed on in the said Committee; [the *Heads* of this Bill may be seen also in the Abridgment before-mentioned; but it did not pass.] Another Bill thereupon was prepared, purely for exempting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties imposed upon the Papists, by the Act of 25 *Eliz.* which passed the Commons, and was also agreed to by the Lords, but when the King came to the House to pass the Bills, this Bill was taken away from the Table, and never heard of more: Which was not likely to be without the King's Order, or Connivance. Many leading Men spoke upon Occasion of this Bill about a *Comprehension*; concerning which it was urged, that it was not reasonably to be hop'd, that tho' the Dissenters might suffer by the Executions of the Laws by Fines and Imprisonment, yet that

*Abridgment of  
Mr. Baxter's  
Life, p. 350.*



that their Opinions or Affections could ever be alter'd by such Proceedings and Severities, without which the Church can never be the stronger, (as by a *Cemprehension* it would be) and the same Person adds, that if the *Oxford Act*, and other Laws against the Dissenters, were projected in favour of the Protestant Religion, it was strange that these Laws were so much promoted, (as 'tis well known they were) by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *Solomon Swale*, and Sir *Roger Strickland*, who have since all appear'd to be Papists. The Parliament being now about a Bill to exclude the Duke of *York*, they were first prorogued and then dissolved, *January 14, 1680*; but before they rose they came to these Resolutions, with reference to the *Dissenters*; Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters. And Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this House, that the Prosecution of *Protestant Dissenters* upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Protestant Interest, an Incouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom. Another Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March* following, but had not Time to do any Business; there was a Complaint made of the unprecedented Loss of the aforementioned Bill for repealing the Act of 25 *Eliz.* but without any Satisfaction or Redress. *February 6, 1684*, King *Charles* dyed, and though the Prosecution of the Dissenters continued in some Measure to the End of his Reign, yet they held on their Meetings, heartily praying for his Peace and Prosperity, and were as much as any in the Nation, concern'd at his Death.

THAT the rigorous Usage of the Dissenters in his Reign, was owing to *Popish* Councils, they themselves never doubted; and tho' some were a long time before they would see, or at least own it, yet it was a great Comfort to them, after all their Sufferings, to find such Men as Bishop *Stillingfleet* at last openly acknowledging it. They had little Hopes of better Treatment in the following Reign of King *James II*, when bare-faced *Popery* lifted up its Head among us. But wise is that Providence which governs the World, which serves its own Ends,

Ends, even by those very Things whereby poor Mortals are most disappointed. It is indeed amazing to observe the Measures of this Reign, with their Consequences, whereby all Mankind were disappointed. The Church Party not only expected to have the Dissenters wholly under their Feet, but depended so much upon their own Merits in their Adherence to the Duke in his Distress, and his positive Assurances that he had given them; that they were very secure, and thought the Day their own: But on a sudden found their All in such Danger, that without new Methods their Religion and Liberty both was gone. On the other Hand, the *Dissenters* expected not only greater Rigours and Severities than before, but concluded they should, if it was possible, be extirpated: Whereas to their Astonishment they found themselves eased of their foregoing Hardships, and courted and caressed by those they knew would rejoyce in their Ruin, and had left no Method unattempted before in order to it. The *Papists* thought by raising those who had been so long depressed, to have enflamed them with Revenge against their Brethren, to have widened the Animosities among Protestants, that they all might thereby be rendered the more sure and speedy Sacrifice to their Malice and Cruelty; and hereby they did but drive the Contending Parties the nearer to each other, and made them at last the more Vigorous in their united Effort, to avert that Common Ruin, which hung over their Heads; so that all Parties found themselves mistaken, but an infinitely wise GOD overruled all for Good. The *Compleat Historian*, says, That the first Design of Popery was to Vol.3.p.445. have set the Church upon a vigorous Suppression of Conventicles, and a fierce Execution of the Penal Laws against the *Nonconformists*, which Method was apparently prosecuted in King Charles's Reign. But that, when so many of the Clergy fell in with this Design, they should be disappointed, and at last convinced, that they were hereby pulling down Ruin on their own Heads, is very remarkable.

THE same Methods were continued at first, which had been used in his Brother's Time. The *Dissenters* were prosecuted in the wonted Manner, their Meetings were frequently disturbed both in City and Country;

Fines were levied upon them, and many were excommunicated, and had *Capias's* issued out against them; but particular Persons, upon their making Application to those Above, were more favoured than had been usual, and the King's Dispensing Power was at length the Subject of much Discourse and Debate; and at last it was determin'd in favour of it, by *eleven* of the twelve *Judges*, and a Dispensation, or License-Office, was accordingly set up. Many of those who were prosecuted as *Conventiclers*, took out Dispensations, which not only stop't all Processes that were commenced, but gave them Liberty to keep Meetings for the future. Many were released from their Imprisonment, and had their Fines remitted by the King's Pardons. And on the 18th of *March* following, the King acquainted the Council, that he had determined to issue out a *Declaration* for a general Liberty of Conscience, to all Persons of what Perswasion soever; which he was moved to, by having observed; 'That altho' an *Uniformity* in Religious *Worship* had been endeavoured to be establish'd within this Kingdom, in the successive Reigns of four of his Predecessors, assisted by their respective Parliaments, yet it hath been ineffectual; that the Restraint upon the Consciences of Dissenters, in order thereunto, had been very prejudicial to this Nation, as was sadly experienced in the horrid Rebellion in the Time of his Royal Father; that the many Penal Laws made against Dissenters in all the foregoing Reigns, and especially in the Time of the late King, had rather increas'd than lessen'd the Number of them, and that nothing could more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an Increase of the Number, as well as the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire Liberty of Conscience, &c.' And thereupon he order'd the *Attorney* and *Sollicitor* General for the future not to permit any Process to issue in his Majesty's Name, against any *Dissenters* whatsoever, which bore Date *April* 11, 1687.

THE *Dissenters* were not so fond of hard Usage, as to refuse a Liberty so freely offer'd them; nor did they think it so needful to enquire at that Time too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, so long as they were shelter'd by it from Oppression. But as thankful as they were for their Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of



of the Issue ; neither could any Number of them, of any Consideration, be charg'd with hazzarding the publick Safety, by falling in with the Measures of the Court, of which they had as great a Dread as their Neighbours. If they overdid it in their Addresses, their former *Hardships* and *Sufferings*, and the so much then unexpected Removal of those Pressures, which they had so long before been under, might contribute towards such an Excess ; and they were not without a Precedent, when the High-Church Party had used such topping Flights of Compliment, in their returning Thanks for the dissolving one of the best of Parliaments ; and therefore thought that they had little Reason to reflect on them for it. But they were not many neither that could be so charg'd. They set themselves to make a peaceable, and the best Improvement they could of the *Liberty* afforded them, so as to do all the Good they could without Offence to any, waiting also in Expectation of seeing the Effects of those Promises and Assurances that were given them by leading Persons both of the Clergy and Laity, that no such Rigorous Methods should ever be used towards them for the Time to come ; but that they might depend upon great Temper and Moderation for the future, and of what had been declared to them so lately before to the same Purpose, on the Behalf of the Church Party, by a Person of Note\* ;

‘ That all their former Haughtiness (they \* *The Mar-*  
‘ are his own Words) towards the Dissen- *quests of Hal-*  
‘ ters was for ever extinguish’d ; and that *ifax.*  
‘ the Spirit of Persecution was turn’d into  
‘ a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension ; that the  
‘ Church of *England* was convinc’d of its Error in being  
‘ severe to them ; and all thinking Men were come to  
‘ a general Agreement, no more to cut our Selves off  
‘ from the Protestants Abroad, but rather to enlarge the  
‘ Foundations, upon which we are to build our De-  
‘ fences against the Common Enemy.’

BUT still the same Laws that had with such Severity been made against the Dissenters, (and were sometimes with the utmost Rigour and Severity executed, though at othertimes the Execution of them was suspended) remained in force ; and notwithstanding the many fruitless Attempts made in order to an Accommodation between

the *Conformists* and *Nonconformists*, were yet continued, till the happy Accession of that excellent *Prince* and *Princess* King *William* and Queen *Mary* to the Throne; whom it pleased an infinitely wise and gracious GOD to raise up, for the Rescuing and Defence of this sinful and sinking Nation in general from Popery, and all those dreadful Effects of Popish Superstition and Cruelty, which we had been threaten'd with; and from the Ruin into which We were then in so visible and most apparent Danger of falling, and being overwhelmed in; and for the procuring that Settlement and Establishment, by an Act of Parliament, of Liberty to the Dissenters, by which they were made Easy, and for which they were very thankful. And they were not without Grounds of Hope likewise, to find that Tendernefs, Temper, and Moderation in the Bishops and Clergy, which they had lately expressed and *promised*, and found by Experience to be necessary, that might at least heal those Breaches and Divisions which had been so long fomented by our Common Enemies, and that thereby the Nonconformists might be taken in to the National Establishment. Whereto his Majesty had given sufficient Grounds to expect his hearty Concurrence. *King James's* Proceedings being so Arbitrary and Violent, carried on by an Ecclesiastical Commission, which was directed to some of the *Bishops*, and others, was likely to have made most woful Havock all over the Kingdom, had not the approaching Revolution put an effectual Stop to it. But it was not long before a Rumour began to be spread that the *Prince of Orange* was coming with a Potent Army and Fleet from *Holland*, to rescue the Nation from Popery and Slavery. He gave publick Notice of it by a Declaration, dated *October 4, 1688*; upon which the Measures of the Court were entirely broken, the Ecclesiastical Commission dissolved, the City Charter, that had been taken away from them but a little before, was restored, and other illegal Sentences revers'd, all which was said to be done out of the King's meer Grace and Favour: But all the World knew a more substantial Reason. On the 5th of *November* the Prince landed at *Torbay* in the County of *Devon*. ' In his Declaration he ' gave an account of the Reasons of his Expedition, and ' assured the World he came upon no other Design, but ' to

‘ to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon  
 ‘ as was possible ; that none might be suffer’d to chuse or  
 ‘ to be chosen for Members, but such as were qualified by  
 ‘ Law, and that being lawfully chosen, they might meet  
 ‘ and sit in full Freedom ; that so the two Houses might  
 ‘ concur in preparing such Laws as they, upon full and  
 ‘ free Debate, should judge necessary and convenient,  
 ‘ both for the confirming and executing the Law con-  
 ‘ cerning the Test, and such other Laws as were neces-  
 ‘ sary for the Security and Maintenance of the *Prote-*  
 ‘ *stant* Religion ; as likewise for making such Laws as  
 ‘ might establish a good Agreement between the *Church*  
 ‘ of *England* and all *Protestant Dissenters, &c.*’ The  
 Body of the Nation heartily fell in with the Prince, and a  
 mighty Revolution was brought about without Blood-  
 shed. Interest wrought a Change in Men’s Opinions. They  
 that had always condemned the Principles of taking up  
 Arms in Defence of Liberty and Property, now thought  
 it both lawful, highly laudable, and absolutely necessary.  
 The Prince came to *St. James’s*, December 18, and on  
 the 21<sup>st</sup> a few of the Dissenting Ministers waited upon  
 him, together with the Bishop of *London*, congratulating  
 his glorious Expedition and Success, and the Bishop sig-  
 nified to his Highness, that there were some of their  
 Dissenting Brethren with him, who herein was entirely  
 of the same Sense with the Clergy of the Establish’d  
 Church: And on *January 2*, the Dissenting Ministers  
 in a Body, to the Number of Ninety, or upwards, at-  
 tended the Prince at *St. James’s*, expressing their grateful  
 Sense of his Hazardous and Heroical Expedition, and of  
 our Common Deliverance thereby. His Highness recei-  
 ved them favourably, and assur’d them, ‘ That he  
 ‘ came on purpose to defend the *Protestant Religion*, and  
 ‘ that it was his own Religion, in which he was born  
 ‘ and bred, the Religion of his Country, and of his An-  
 ‘ cestors : And that he was resolv’d, by the Grace of  
 ‘ GOD, always to adhere to it, and to do his utmost  
 ‘ Endeavours for the Defence of it, and the promoting  
 ‘ a firm Union among *Protestants.*’

THE Convention that was summoned by the Prince’s  
 Letters, when assembled together, after warm Debates,  
 declar’d the Throne vacant, King *James* having abdicated  
 the Government, and broken the *Original Contract* with



his People, to the Confutation of such as had all along stiffly deny'd, that there was any *Contract* between the King and his Subjects: Hereupon, drawing up a Declaration for vindicating the ancient Rights and Liberties of the People, they offer'd the Crown to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who accepting it were proclaimed *King* and *Queen* of *England* on *Feb. 13. 1689*, and publickly Crown'd at *Westminster* on *April* the 11th following, with universal Acclamation; and none had a greater Share than the *Dissenters* in the Common Joy. The Ministers that were in and about *London* presented an Address to their Majesties, wherein (and also by a Speech made by *Dr. Bates* at that time) they express'd the same, humbly requesting and hoping, that by their Majesty's Wisdom and Authority, as they had graciously promised, a firm *Union* of their Protestant Subjects in the Matters of Religion might be establish'd, by making the Rule of Christianity to be the Rule of Conformity, that such an Union in the Purity and Peace of the Gospel would render the Church an amiable and lovely Type of Heaven, and terrible to our Antechristian Enemies, and *England* a Support of Reformed Christianity Abroad: And their Majesties were graciously pleased to renew their Promise of endeavouring to the utmost of their Power for the obtaining such an *Union* amongst them, that was necessary for the edifying of the Church; his Majesty assuring them of his Protection and Kindness. Those Speeches were afterward printed, whereby the *Dissenters* in effect declared to all the World their Readiness to yield to a Coalition with the establish'd Church; and it is but Justice to acknowledge their Majesties Faithfulness in keeping their Promise, tho' it was so far obstructed by others, who had Designs of their own to serve, which rendred his Endeavours the less effectual. Before the Revolution, the Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility and Gentry, had with great Unanimity professed themselves sensible of the Necessity of making the Ecclesiastical Foundations wider, and of having a closer Correspondence with the Protestant Churches Abroad, &c. Accordingly, an Eminent Prelate of the Church of *England* \*, at the latter End of the foregoing Reign thus expresses himself, when apologizing for the Church and her past Proceedings:

\* The Bishop of Sarum.

ceedings: ' It is not to be doubted (*he says*) but tho' some  
 ' weaker Men of the Clergy may still retain their little  
 ' peevish Animosities against the *Dissenters*; yet the wiser  
 ' and more serious Heads of that Great and Worthy Body,  
 ' see now their Errour; They see who drove them on in  
 ' it, till they hoped to have ruined them by it; and as they  
 ' have appeared against Popery, with as great Strength of  
 ' Learning, and as firm Steadiness as can perhaps be met  
 ' with in all Church History; so it cannot be doubted,  
 ' but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our  
 ' Divisions have thrown us, have given them truer  
 ' Notions with relation to *rigorous Conformity*: And that  
 ' the just Detestation which they have express'd of the  
 ' Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, has led them to  
 ' consider and abhor one of the worst Things in it, *viz.*  
 ' Their Severity towards those that differ from them;  
 ' and the ill Use they see the Court has made of their  
 ' Zeal for supporting the Crown, to justify the Subver-  
 ' sion of our Government, &c. will certainly make them  
 ' hereafter more cautious in meddling with Politicks.  
 ' The Bishops have under their Hands both disown'd  
 ' that wide Extent of the Prerogative to the over-turning  
 ' of the Law, and declared their Disposition to come to  
 ' a Temper in the Matters of *Conformity*; and there seems  
 ' to be no Doubt left of the Sincerity of their Intentions  
 ' in that Matter: Their Piety and Virtue, and the Pros-  
 ' pect that they now have of suffering themselves, put's  
 ' us beyond all Doubt as to their Sincerity; and if ever  
 ' GOD in his Providence brings us again into a settled  
 ' State, out of the Storms into which our Passions and  
 ' Folly, as well as the Treachery of others, have brought  
 ' us; it cannot be imagined that the *Bishops* will go off  
 ' from those moderate Resolutions, which they have now  
 ' declared: And they continuing firm, the Weak and  
 ' Indiscreet Passions of any of the inferior Clergy, must  
 ' needs vanish, when they are under the Conduct of  
 ' Wise and Worthy Leaders. And I will boldly say  
 ' this, that if the *Church of England*, after she has got  
 ' out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the Peevish-  
 ' ness of some four Men, she will be abandoned both of  
 ' God and Man, and will set both Heaven and Earth  
 ' against her. The Nation sees too visibly, how dear the  
 ' Dispute about *Conformity* hath cost us, to stand any  
 ' more

' more upon such Punctilio's; and those in whom our  
 ' Deliverance is wrapped up, understand this Mat-  
 ' ter too well, and judge too rightly of it, to imagine  
 ' that ever they will be Priest-ridden in this Point: So  
 ' that all Considerations concur to make us conclude,  
 ' that there is no Danger of our splitting a second time  
 ' upon the same Rock: And indeed if any Argument  
 ' were wanting to compleat the Certainty of this Point,  
 ' the Wise and Generous Behaviour of the main Body of  
 ' the *Dissenters* in this present Juncture, hath given them  
 ' so just a Title to *our* Friendship, that we must resolve  
 ' to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it,  
 ' and if we do not make them all the Returns of *Ease*  
 ' and *Favour* when it is in our *Power* to do it.' But  
 the same Worthy *Prelate* has since told the World, how  
 little his and others Expectations were answered. Upon  
 their thus expressing their Readiness to come to a just  
 Temper in all the Matters of Difference between them  
 and the *Dissenters*, when they should be brought before  
 them in Convocation or Parliament; and upon their Re-  
 quest to the King (being then *Prince of Orange*) amongst  
 other Things, that he would use his Interest amongst the  
*Dissenters* against the Design of animating them against  
 the Church, and complying with the King's Declaration;  
 it was, that the *Prince* promised in his Declaration with  
 which he came over, that he would use his Endeavours  
 to bring about the so much desired *Union* between the  
*Church of England* and the *Dissenters*: So that their Ma-  
 jesties were under Engagements to make the Experiment.  
 But the *Bishop* adds, it did not succeed; a form'd Reso-  
 lution of consenting to no Alterations at all, in order to  
 that *Union*, made that the Attempt was again laid aside.  
 — And it plainly appeared (*he says*) it was not a pro-  
 per Season to try to make Peace. So that the *Dissenters*,  
 taking this Publick Opportunity of declaring a Readiness  
 on their Part, to consent to the Terms of *Union*, wherein  
 all the Reformed Churches agree (which was presently  
 after their Majesties ascending the Throne) must be ac-  
 quitted by all Mankind from being the Hinderers of the  
 desired Agreement. And this Worthy *Prelate* plainly  
 tells us where the Blame must be laid.

IMMEDIATELY after our happy Settlement, great  
 Animosities appear'd all over the Land, amongst those  
 that



that were the most Conformable in it. The Difference lay both in Political and Ecclesiastical Matters; many scrupled taking the Oaths to the New Government whilst King *James* was living, to whom they had sworn Allegiance before. The Ecclesiastical Difference referr'd to Alterations and Emendations in the Constitution, Worship, and Discipline of the Church, which some were for, in order to the strengthening our Foundations; and others against, as seeing no need of Amendments. They who thought we were already arrived at Perfection, were apprehensive their Majesties were inclined to be too yielding to *Dissenters*, and therefore used great Art and Industry to strengthen their own Interest, that so the *Dissenters* might continue upon their *Old Bottom*; and others who retained such a Sense of their past *Dangers*, and the Promises and Assurances then given, as to be free for their Liberty, were yet generally backward to a Coalition, tho' much press'd thereto by many indifferent Standers by.

THERE were many and warm Debates in the Two Houses of Lords and Commons about a *Comprehension*, and an *Indulgence*; for Bills were brought in for both, and both were canvassed: Some who were of a narrow Spirit, forgetting former Promises, and repeated Declarations, were for keeping the *Dissenters* under a *Brand*; but thinking Men were of a more *Generous Temper*.

THEIR Case being at that Time fairly represented by an Impartial Hand, and strenuously argued, is (tho' in something a narrower Compass) inserted here, in order to their Satisfaction in the Principles and Pleas of the Protestant *Dissenters*, who have not leisure to peruse larger Writings.

' THEY are under one common Obligation with  
' the rest of Mankind, by the Universal Law of Nature,  
' to worship GOD in Assemblies.

' *Men of all Sort of Religions that have ever obtained*  
' *in the World, Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, Christians,*  
' *have, in their Practice, acknowledged this from the Dictate*  
' *and Impression of the Universal Law.*

' WHEREAS the Religion profess'd in *England* is that  
' of Reformed Christianity; some Things are annexed to  
' the Publick Worship, which are acknowledged to be  
' no

‘ no *Parts* thereof, or in themselves necessary; but which  
 ‘ the *Dissenters* judge to be in some Part sinful.

‘ *THEY* cannot therefore with good Conscience to-  
 ‘ wards GOD, attend wholly and solely upon the Pub-  
 ‘ lick Worship which the Laws do appoint (*while such*  
 ‘ *Impositions are continued*) And,

‘ *THE* same Laws do strictly forbid their Assembling  
 ‘ to worship GOD otherwise.

‘ Which is in effect the same Thing, as if they who made,  
 ‘ or shall continue such Laws, should plainly say, if you will  
 ‘ not Consent with us in our superadded Rites, and Modes,  
 ‘ against your Consciences, you shall not worship GOD; or if  
 ‘ you will not accept of our Additions to the Christian Reli-  
 ‘ gion, you shall not be Christians; and manifestly tends to  
 ‘ reduce to Paganism a great Part of a Christian Nation.

‘ *THEY* have been wont therefore to meet however  
 ‘ in distinct Assemblies, and to worship GOD in a Way  
 ‘ which their Consciences could approve, and have many  
 ‘ Years continued so to do, otherwise than as they have  
 ‘ been hindred by Violence.

‘ *IT* is therefore upon the whole fit to enquire;

*Quest. 1.* ‘ Whether they are to be blam’d for their  
 ‘ holding distinct Meetings for the Worship of GOD?

‘ *FOR* Answer to this, it cannot be expected that  
 ‘ all the Controversies should be here determined about  
 ‘ the Lawfulness of those Things which have been added  
 ‘ to the Christian Religion and Worship, by the present  
 ‘ Constitution of the Church of *England*.

‘ *BUT* supposing they were none of them simply un-  
 ‘ lawful, while yet the misinform’d Minds of the *Dis-*  
 ‘ *senters* could not judge them Lawful, after the strictest  
 ‘ Enquiry and Search; being urged also by severe Suf-  
 ‘ ferings, which thro’ a long Tract of Time they have  
 ‘ undergone, not to refuse any Means that might tend to  
 ‘ their Satisfaction; they could have nothing else left  
 ‘ them to do, than to meet and worship distinctly, as  
 ‘ they have done.

‘ *FOR* they could not but Esteem the Obligation of  
 ‘ the *Universal, Natural, Divine Law*, by which they  
 ‘ were bound solemnly to worship GOD, less question-  
 ‘ able, than that of a Law only Positive, Topical, and  
 ‘ Humane, requiring such Additions to, and prohibiting  
 ‘ their Worship without them.

‘ *THE*

‘ THE Church of *England* distinguish’d from other  
‘ Churches by those Additions, (acknowledged to be in-  
‘ different and unnecessary) having appropriated to it-  
‘ self both the Ordinances of Divine Worship and all  
‘ Civil Power, the Priviledges that belong either to Chri-  
‘ tian or Humane Society, are enclosed and made pecu-  
‘ liar to such as are distinguish’d by Things, that in them-  
‘ selves can tend nothing to the making Persons either  
‘ better Christians or better Men.

*Quest. 2.* ‘ Whether Laws enjoyning such Additions to  
‘ our Religion, as the exclusive Terms of Christian Wor-  
‘ ship and Communion, ought to have been made, when  
‘ it is acknowledged on all Hands those Additions were  
‘ before not necessary; and that so great a Number judge  
‘ them sinful, and must be restrained thereby from wor-  
‘ shipping the true and living GOD in the Publick Con-  
‘ gregations.

*Ans.* ‘ THE Question to any of common Sense an-  
‘ swers itself; for it is not put concerning such as dissent  
‘ from any Part of the Substance of Worship which GOD  
‘ has commanded, but such Additions thereto, only  
‘ which he never commanded; and therefore to forbid  
‘ such to Worship GOD, that made them, because they  
‘ cannot receive such devised Additions, is to exclude  
‘ that which is necessary, for the meer Want of that which  
‘ is unnecessary.

‘ AND who will adventure to avow the hin-  
‘ dring such Persons upon that Account, from paying  
‘ their Homage to their Creator? And cut off from GOD  
‘ his Right in the Creatures he has made? And cut  
‘ off from *them* the Means of their Salvation upon these  
‘ Terms? If they thus expostulate the Matter on GOD’s  
‘ behalf and their own, what Reply can the Matter  
‘ admit?

‘ TIS commonly alledged, that great Deference is to  
‘ be paid to the Laws; and that the *Dissenters* ought to  
‘ have forbore their Assemblies, till the Publick Autho-  
‘ rity had again recalled them: And the *Dissenters* will  
‘ say the same Thing, when its well proved that they  
‘ who made such Laws made the World too. By whose  
‘ Authority were such Laws made? Is there any that  
‘ is not from GOD? And hath GOD given any Men  
‘ Authority to make Laws against himself, and to de-  
‘ prive



‘prive him thereby of his *just Rights* from his own Creatures?

‘NOR if the Matter be well searched into, could there be so much as a Pretence of Authority derived for such Purposes from the People, whom every one now acknowledges the *first Receptacle* of derived governing Power. GOD can, ’tis true, lay an indisputable Obligation by his known Laws upon the Consciences of Men about Religion, or any Thing else; and such as represent any People, can, according to the Constitution of the Government, make Laws for them about the Things they entrust them with; but if the People of *England* were ask’d Man by Man, will they say they entrusted their Representatives with their Religion and their Consciences, to do with them what they please? What Dr. *Sherlock* worthily says, concerning a Bishop, he might (and particularly, after, he doth) say concerning every other Man, *He can be no more represented in a Council than at the Day of Judgment; every Man’s Soul and Conscience must be in his own keeping, and can be represented by no Man.*

‘CHRISTIANITY, wherein it superadds to the Law of Nature, is all Matter of Revelation; and ’tis well known, that even among *Pagans*, in the settling Rites and Institutes of Religion, Revelation was pretended at least, upon an implied Principle, that in such Matters Humane Power could not oblige the Peoples Consciences; we must be excused therefore, if we have in our Practice expressed less Reverence for Laws made by no Authority received either from GOD or Man.

‘IT is an injurious Reflection, that they have by the Use of their Liberty, acknowledged an Illegal dispensing Power; they doing no other than they did before, when no Dispensation was given, and that in Conscience of their Duty to Him that gave them Breath; not because those Laws were dispensed with, but because they thought them not Laws that were binding to them, under those Circumstances they were in.

‘WHEREUPON little Need remains of enquiring,  
*Quest. 3.* ‘WHETHER such Laws should be continued? Against which, besides what may be collected from that which hath been said already, it is to be considered,

‘ sider’d, that what is most principally grievous to the  
 ‘ *Dissenters*, was enacted by that Parliament, that, as  
 ‘ there’s Reason to believe, suffer’d itself to be dealt with  
 ‘ to enslave the Nation in other Respects as well as this;  
 ‘ and which (to his Immortal Honour) the Noble Earl  
 ‘ of *Danby* procured to be dissolved, as the first Step to-  
 ‘ wards our National Deliverance.

‘ AND let the Tenour be consider’d of that horrid  
 ‘ Law, by which our *Magna Charta* was torn in Pieces;  
 ‘ the worst and most infamous of Men, at our own Ex-  
 ‘ pence, hir’d to accuse us; Multitudes of Perjuries com-  
 ‘ mitted; Convictions made without a Jury, and with-  
 ‘ out hearing the Persons accused; Penalties inflicted;  
 ‘ Goods rifled; Estates seized and embezl’d; Houses  
 ‘ broken up; Families disturbed often at the most unsea-  
 ‘ sonable Hours of the Night, without any Cause, or  
 ‘ Shadow of Cause, if only a malicious Villain would  
 ‘ pretend to suspect a Meeting there: No Law in any o-  
 ‘ ther Case like this. As if to Worship GOD without  
 ‘ those Additions, which were confess’d unnecessary, were  
 ‘ a greater Crime than Theft, Felony, Murder, or Treason!  
 ‘ Is it for our Reputation to Posterity, that the Memory  
 ‘ of such a Law should be continued?

‘ AND are we not yet awaken’d, and our Eyes o-  
 ‘ pen’d enough to see, that the Making and Execution of  
 ‘ those Laws, by which the *Dissenters* have suffered so  
 ‘ deeply in one Kind or other, for so many by-past Years,  
 ‘ was only that Protestants might destroy Protestants, and  
 ‘ the easier Work be made for the Introduction of *Poper*y,  
 ‘ that was to destroy the Residue? Nor can any Malice  
 ‘ deny, or Ignorance of observing *English* Men over-look  
 ‘ this plain Matter of Fact, that when after the Dissolu-  
 ‘ tion of the before-mention’d Parliament, the *Dissenters*  
 ‘ were much carels’d, and endeavour’d to be drawn in-  
 ‘ to a Subserviency to the Court Designs, especially in  
 ‘ the Election of after Parliaments, they yet so entirely  
 ‘ and unanimously fell in with the sober Part of the Na-  
 ‘ tion in the Choice of Representatives in the Three next  
 ‘ succeeding Parliaments, as it was known would, and  
 ‘ who did most generously assert the Liberties of the Na-  
 ‘ tion, and the Protestant Religion; which alone (and  
 ‘ not their meer Dissent from the Church of *England* in  
 ‘ Matters of Religion, wherein King *Charles II.* was suf-  
 ‘ ficiently

‘ ficiently known to be a Prince of great Indifferency)  
 ‘ drew upon them soon after the Dissolution of the last  
 ‘ of those Parliaments, that dreadful Storm of Persecu-  
 ‘ tion, that destroyed so many Lives in Gaols, and ruined  
 ‘ Multitudes of Families.

‘ LET *English* Men remember what they cannot but  
 ‘ know, that it was for their Adherence to the Civil In-  
 ‘ terests of the Nation, not for their different Modes of  
 ‘ Religion from the Legal Way, (tho’ the Laws gave that  
 ‘ Advantage against them, which they did not against  
 ‘ others) that the *Dissenters* endur’d the Calamities of so  
 ‘ many Years.

‘ WHEN by King *James* some Relaxation was given  
 ‘ them, what Arts were used to gain their Concurrence  
 ‘ to Designs to the Prejudice of the Nation, and with  
 ‘ how little effect upon the Generality of the *Dissenters*,  
 ‘ it must be great Ignorance not to know, and great Inju-  
 ‘ stice to deny. Tho’ then as great Assurances as were  
 ‘ possible were given by some in the Nation, of a future  
 ‘ establish’d Security from their former Pressures, (which  
 ‘ it’s probable some may, and it may be hop’d will still  
 ‘ remember :) They were then told, when the Excellent  
 ‘ *Heer Fagel’s* Letter was privately communicated from  
 ‘ Hand to Hand, how easily better Things would be ob-  
 ‘ tain’d for them, if that happy Change should be brought  
 ‘ about, which none beheld with greater Joy than they?

In the afore-mentioned Paper, they farther expressed themselves to this Effect.

‘ WE are loth injuriously to suspect those who have  
 ‘ given us these Hopes, that we shall now be disappoint-  
 ‘ ed and deceived (as we have formerly been, and we  
 ‘ know by whom) or that we shall suffer from them a  
 ‘ *Religious Slavery*, for whose Sakes we have suffer’d so  
 ‘ much, rather than do any Thing tending to bring upon  
 ‘ them a *Civil Slavery*. And we cannot but expect from  
 ‘ *Englishmen*, that they be just and true; but if we, who  
 ‘ as we had Opportunity, have endeavour’d the saving of  
 ‘ the Nation, must yet suffer, not to greaten (one Hair)  
 ‘ the Wealth and Dignity, but only to gratify the Hu-  
 ‘ mour of them, who would yet destroy it; we that  
 ‘ have been competently enured to Sufferings, shall, thro’  
 ‘ God’s Mercy, be enabled to endure; but he that sit-  
 ‘ teth in the Heavens, will, in his own Time, judge  
 ‘ our



our Cause, and we will wait his Pleasure; and we hope suffer all that can be inflicted, rather than betray the Cause of Reformed Christianity in the World.

BUT our Affairs are in the Hands of Men of Worth and Honour, who apprehend how little grateful a Name they should leave to Posterity, or obtain now with good Men of any Perswasion, if under a Pretence only of Kindness to us, they should now repeat the Arts of ill Men in an ill Time. Great Minds will think it beneath them to sport themselves with their own Cunning in deceiving others, which were in the present Case so easily seen through, and which may be the Attainment of any that has Opportunity enough, and so little Integrity, as to suit such Purposes. And its as much too gross to endeavour to abuse the Authority of a Nation, by going about to make that stoop to so mean a Thing, as to make a Shew of intending what they resolve to their uttermost shall never be.

BUT some may think, by Concessions to us the Church of *England* will be ruined, and a great Advantage given to the bringing in of Popery.

TO which we say, the Generality of the Dissenters differ from the Church of *England* in no Substantials of Doctrine and Worship, no nor of Government, provided it be so manag'd, as to attain its true acknowledged End; the favouring of us therefore will as much ruin the Church, as its *Enlargement and additional Strength* will signify to its Ruine.

AND doth not the World know, that wherein we differ from them, we differ from the *Papists* too? And that for the most part, wherein they differ from us, they seem to agree with them?

WE acknowledge their strong, brave, and prosperous Opposition to *Popery*: But they opposed it by the Things wherein they agree with us, and not wherein they differ. *Their Differences from us* are no more a Fence against Popery, than an Inclosure of Straw is against a Flame of Fire.

BUT its objected that we agree not among our selves, and know not what we would have.

AND

‘ AND do all that go under the Name of the Church of *England*, agree among themselves? There are more considerable Disagreements among them, than between the most of us, and a considerable Part of them: They all agree, ’tis true, in Conformity, and we agree in Nonconformity: And is not this merely Accidental to Christianity and Protestantism? And *herein*, is it not well known, that far the greater Part of Reformed Christendom do more agree with the *Nonconformist*.

‘ A N Arbitrary Line of *Uniformity* in some little Accidents, severs a small Part of the Christian World from all the rest: How unreasonably is it expected, that therefore all the rest must in every Thing else agree among themselves.

‘ I F any should think it dishonourable to others that have gone before them in the same Ecclesiastical Stations and Dignities, if now any Thing should be alter’d, which they before approv’d and thought fit;

‘ I T may be hop’d, the Temptation to such excessive Modesty will not prove invincible; to be afraid of seeming Wiser, or better Natur’d, or of a more Christian Temper than their Predecessors.

‘ B U T besides, the most of the Dissenters do agree not only with one another, but in the great Things above-mentioned, with the Church of *England* too. And in short, that the Reproach may cease for ever with those that account it one; They will find with us, when they please to try, a very extensive Agreement on the Terms of King *Charles II*, his *Declaration* about Ecclesiastical Affairs, *Anno 1660*. *From what has been said, therefore it may be considered;*

Qu. 4. ‘ W H E T H E R it is reasonable to exclude all that in every Thing cannot conform to the Church of *England*, from any Part or Share in the Civil Power?

‘ T H E Difference, or Nonconformity of many is so minute, that it would be as reasonable to exclude all whose Hair or Faces are not of this or that Colour and Complexion.

‘ A N D suppose a Determination be made by the Decision this or that Way, of any other disputed Question that may be of as small Concernment to Religion? Suppose it be that of eating Blood; for the Decision  
‘ whereof

‘ whereof one Way, there is more Pretence from GOD’s  
 ‘ Word, than for any Point of the disputed Confor-  
 ‘ mity: Would it not be a wise Constitution, that  
 ‘ whoever thinks it lawful to eat it, shall be capable of no  
 ‘ Office, &c. ?

‘ BUT we tremble to think of the *Exclusive Sacra-*  
 ‘ *mental Test*, brought down so low as to the Keeper of an  
 ‘ Ale-house.

‘ ARE all fit to approach the Sacred Table, whom  
 ‘ the Fear of Ruin, or Hope of Gain may bring thither ?  
 ‘ We cannot but often remember with Horrour, an In-  
 ‘ stance of one, A Man that led an ill Life, but fre-  
 ‘ quented the Church, was observed not to come to the  
 ‘ Sacrament ; and press’d by the Officers to come, he yet  
 ‘ declined, knowing himself unfit : At length being  
 ‘ threatned and terrified, he came ; but said to some pre-  
 ‘ sent at the Time of that Solemn Action, that he came  
 ‘ only to avoid being undone, and took them to witness,  
 ‘ that what he there received he took only as common  
 ‘ Bread and Wine, not daring to receive them as the  
 ‘ Body and Blood of CHRIST.

‘ TIS amazing, that among Christians, so venerable  
 ‘ an Institution should be prostituted to the serving of so  
 ‘ mean Purposes, and so foreign to its true End ! And  
 ‘ that doing it only after the Manner of the Church of  
 ‘ England, must be the Qualification ! As if England  
 ‘ were another Christendom ; or that it were a greater  
 ‘ Thing to conform in every Punctilio to the distinct  
 ‘ Rules of this Church, than of *Christ* himself !

‘ BUT we would fain know whose is that Holy Ta-  
 ‘ ble ? Is it the Table of this or that Party, or the Lord’s  
 ‘ Table ? If the Lord’s, are not Persons to be admitted  
 ‘ or excluded upon his Terms ? Never can there be Uni-  
 ‘ on or Peace in the Christian World. till we take down  
 ‘ our Arbitrary Inclosures, and content our selves with  
 ‘ those which our Common LORD hath set. If he falls  
 ‘ under a Curse that alters Men’s Land Marks, to alter  
 ‘ GOD’s is not likely to infer a Blessing.

‘ THE Matter is clear as the Light of the Sun, that as  
 ‘ many Persons of excellent Worth, Sobriety and Godli-  
 ‘ ness, are entirely in the Communion of the Church of  
 ‘ England ; so that there are too many of a worse Cha-  
 ‘ racter that are of it too ; and divers Prudent, Pious,  
 ‘ and



and Sober-minded Persons that are not of it. Let common Reason be consulted in this Case; suppose the Tables turn'd, and that the Rule were to be made the other Way, *viz.* That to do this Thing, but not by any Means after the Manner of the Church of *England*, were to be the Qualification, and that one of meaner Endowments, as a Man and a Christian, do what is required, and not in the Way of the Church of *England*; another that is of much better, do the same Thing in that Way; were it suitable to Prudence or Justice, that because it is done after the Way of the Church of *England*, a fitter Man should be reckon'd unqualified? And one of less value be taken for qualified, because he doth it a different Way? Then is all that solid Weight of Wisdom Diligence, Sobriety and Goodness, to be weighed down by a Feather.

IT must surely be thought the Prudence of any Government, to comprehend as many useful Persons as it can, and no more to deprive itself of the Service of such, for any Thing less considerable than those Qualifications are, by which they are useful, than a Man would tear off from himself the Limbs of his Body for a Spot upon the Skin.

AND really if in our Circumstances, we thus narrow our Interest, all the rest of the World will say, that they who would destroy us, do yet find a Way to be our Instructors, and our common Enemies do teach us our Politicks.

P. S. THE Names of Mr. *Hale* of *Eaton College*, and of a later most renown'd Bishop of the Church of *England*, who asserted this Principle, *That if Things be imposed under the Notion of indifferent, which many think sinful, and a Schism follow thereupon, the Imposers are the Schismatics*; will be great in *England* as long as their Writings shall live, and good Sense can be understood in them. Thus far the Paper.

HIS Majesty in a Speech to the Two Houses of Parliament, told them, He hop'd they would leave Room for the Admission of all Protestants that were willing and able to serve him, which would tend to the better uniting them among themselves, and the strengthening them against their Common Adversaries; pursuant whereto, when the Act for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and

Supre-

*Supremacy*, and appointing other *Oaths* was read in the House of Lords, a Clause was ordered to be brought in, to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament, in order to capacitate a Person for having an Office, it being urged, 'That an hearty Union among *Protestants*, was a greater Security to the Church and State, than any *Test* that could be invented: That this was a *Test* on the *Protestants* rather than on the *Papists*; and that whilst it was continued, there could not be that hearty and through Union among *Protestants*, as had always been wish'd, and was at this Time so indispensably necessary; and that hereby a greater Caution was required from such as were admitted into *Offices*, than from the *Members of Parliament*, of whom it is not required.' But this was rejected; and tho' another Clause was inserted, that receiving the Sacrament within a Year after their entring into such an Office or Place of Trust, either according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, or in any other Protestant Congregation, and producing a Certificate of the same might be a sufficient Qualification; yet it passed in the Negative: But Six of the Lords enter'd their Dissent, and the Reasons for it, following:

1. 'Because a great Part of the Freemen of *England* (tho' *Protestants*) are hereby excluded from Publick Employments, and the King and Kingdom deprived of useful Persons fit for Publick Service, without any sufficient Ground.
2. In respect of his Majesty's earnest Desire of Liberty to the Tender Consciences of *Protestants*, and the Bishops having divers of them expressed the same Desire, and the Reasonableness of such a Christian Temper; that thereby there would be less Room to suspect any such sinister or selfish Ends, as might be doubted in the opposing of it, the Church itself being still secured in all its Priviledges and Preferments.
3. that to set Marks of Distinction on any who have not rendred themselves justly suspected to the *Government*, as it is at all Times to be avoided by the Makers of Laws that are *just* and *equitable*; so it may be especially of ill Effect now to the Reformed Interest, both at Home and Abroad at this Time, which stands in need of the united Hands and Hearts of all *Protestants*, against the open Attempts and secret Endeavours of *France* and *Rome*, to propagate *Popery* here in these Kingdoms, and

' to settle his Tyranny thro' all *Europe* upon the Ruins of  
 ' the *Reformation*: And further, because it turns the Edge  
 ' of a Law upon *Protestants* and Friends to the Govern-  
 ' ment, which was designed against *Papists*, the avowed  
 ' and open Enemies to it: Because also the Myſteries of  
 ' Religion are of Divine Original, and of a Nature ſo  
 ' wholly diſtinct from Secular Affairs, that no Offence  
 ' ought to be given to any, by mixing theſe Sacred Myſte-  
 ' rious with Secular Interests. And laſtly, their not taking  
 ' the Sacrament in ſuch a Manner, (being ſcrupled by  
 ' ſome, but by none affirmed to be Criminal,) ſeems  
 ' inconſiſtent with the Law of GOD, Common Equity,  
 ' or the Right of any free-born Subject, to be puniſhed  
 ' by ſuch a Law of Excluſion, the not doing that which  
 ' is not a Crime to forbear. And if it be urged as an  
 ' effectual Means to diſcover and keep out *Papists*, the  
 ' taking it in other *Proteſtant* Congregations will be as  
 ' effectual to that Purpoſe.' When the Lords had under  
 ' their Conſideration, Amendments in the Bill for  
 ' uniting their Majeſties *Proteſtant* Subjects, and the In-  
 ' difference of the Poſture at receiving the Sacrament  
 ' came to be conſider'd in the Committee, it was left out,  
 ' and the Votes in the Houſe, whether to agree with the  
 ' Committee therein, being equal, according to Cuſtom it  
 ' was carried in the Negative. The Clause concerning a  
 ' Commiſſion to be given out by the *King* to the *Bishops*,  
 ' and others of the Clergy, being likewise conſider'd, and  
 ' propoſed that ſome Laymen ſhould be added in the Com-  
 ' miſſion, the Votes again being equal, it was taken for a  
 ' Negative: But herein likewise, ſome of the Lords enter'd  
 ' their Diſſents in the ſeveral Reaſons there given, as, 1<sup>ſt</sup>.  
 ' That the putting the Clergy only into the Commiſſion,  
 ' with a total Excluſion of the Laity, is a Reflection up-  
 ' on the Laity, as if leſs able or leſs concerned for the  
 ' Peace of the State, for which the Act itſelf was de-  
 ' ſigned, as appears by the Preamble of it. Alſo becauſe  
 ' the Matters to be conſider'd being barely of Humane  
 ' Conſtitution, viz. The *Liturgy* and *Ceremonies* of the  
 ' Church of *England*, which had their Eſtabliſhment,  
 ' both from the King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and  
 ' Commons in Parliament; it was not reaſonable the  
 ' Commiſſioners, for altering any Thing in that Civil Con-  
 ' ſtitution, ſhould conſiſt only of Men of one Sort of  
 ' them;



' them; and tho' upon *Romish* Principles the Clergy may  
 ' have a Title to meddle alone in Matters of Religion,  
 ' yet with us it is otherwise, where the Church is ac-  
 ' knowledged to consist both of *Clergy* and *Laity*: Be-  
 ' cause also the Pretence, that by mixing Laymen with  
 ' Ecclesiasticks, Differences and Delays may arise, so as  
 ' to frustrate the Design of the Commission, is vain, un-  
 ' less it be supposed the Clergy have distinct Interests or  
 ' Designs from the Lay Part of the same Church; and  
 ' then the same Reason would hold, why one or the other  
 ' Party should also quit the House for fear of hindring  
 ' the Business of it; and farther, because the Commission  
 ' being intended for the Satisfaction of *Dissenters*, it would  
 ' be convenient that Lay Men of different Ranks and  
 ' Opinions too, should be mixed in it, the better to find  
 ' out Expedients for that End, rather than Clergymen  
 ' alone of the Church, who are generally observed to  
 ' have the same Way of Reasoning and Thinking: Be-  
 ' cause also Lay Lords and Commoners being joined in the  
 ' Commission, may better satisfy both Houses of the Rea-  
 ' sons upon which those Alterations are made, and re-  
 ' move all Jealousies against the Clergy, which ill Men  
 ' might raise groundlessly of their keeping up a distinct  
 ' Interest from that of the Laity, who they industriously  
 ' exclude from being joined with them in Matters of  
 ' Common Concernment to both; because also such a  
 ' restrain'd Commission might be construed as if it were  
 ' to elude repeated Promises of Compliance with Tender  
 ' Consciences, when the providing for it is taken out of  
 ' the Ordinary Course of Parliament, to be put into the  
 ' Hands of those *alone*, who were latest in admitting any  
 ' Need of it, and are the more unfit to be the *sole* Com-  
 ' posers of those Differences wherein they themselves are  
 ' also Parties. And that after all it carries a dangerous  
 ' Supposition along with it, as if the Laity were not a  
 ' Part of the Church, nor had Power to meddle in Mat-  
 ' ters of Religion; a Supposition so directly contrary to  
 ' the Constitution both of Church and State; and which  
 ' would make all Alterations utterly impossible, unless  
 ' the *Clergy alone* had Power to make *Laws* in Matters of  
 ' Religion; or to repeal the same; whereas the Power  
 ' they have is derived from *Lay Hands*. The Lord *Stam-*  
*ford* particularly, gave this besides other Reasons for his  
 G 3 Dissent,

See the Reasons  
at large in Dr.  
Calamy's *A-*  
*bridgment*, p.  
440, &c.

Dissent, it being contrary to several *Statutes*, viz. of Henry VIII, and Edward VI, which empower Commissioners to alter the Canon and Ecclesiastical Law; half of whom were to be of the *Laity*, and half only of the *Clergy*.

May 24. 1689. THE Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, in the mean Time received the Royal Assent; whereupon the *Dissenters* were easie and thankful. But there was some Hopes left also, of their being taken into the Publick Establishment by a *Comprehension*, a Bill for that purpose being still depending in Parliament, which passed the House of Lords; and the House of Commons (after it came down to them) desired his Majesty to Summon a Convocation, and to lay the Matter before them.

Nichols's *App.* said Dr. Tillotson, then Chaplain to the *ad Def. Eccles.* King, perswaded his Majesty, that the Mat-  
*Ang.* p. 93. ter might be refer'd to an Ecclesiastical

Synod, and that the King to prevent Delay would (as had been formerly practised) by his Letters Patents, authorize a select Number of Learned Divines to meet together, and consult about the properest Methods of healing the Wounds of the Church, and fixing a durable Peace; that so what they agreed upon being laid before a Synod might first have their Approbation, and then have a Parliamentary Sanction: And the King accordingly summoned a Convocation, and issued out also a Commission to *Thirty* Divines to prepare Matters to be laid before them. The Commission was as follows:

‘ WHEREAS the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon Weighty and Important Considerations, according to the various Exigencies of Times and Occasions, such Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in Place and Authority, should from Time to Time seem either Necessary or Expedient; and whereas the Book of *Canons* is  
fit

‘ fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the State  
 ‘ of the Church: And whereas there are Defects and A-  
 ‘ busess in the *Ecclesiastical Courts* and Jurisdictions; and  
 ‘ particularly there is not sufficient Provision made for  
 ‘ the removing of *scandalous* Ministers, and for the re-  
 ‘ forming of Manners either in Ministers or People: And  
 ‘ whereas it is most fit, that there should be a strict Me-  
 ‘ thod prescribed for the Examination of such Persons as  
 ‘ desire to be admitted into Holy Orders, both as to their  
 ‘ Learning and Manners: We therefore, out of our Pi-  
 ‘ ous and Princely Care for the good Order and Edifica-  
 ‘ tion, and Unity of the Church of *England*, committed  
 ‘ to our Charge and Care; and for the reconciling, as  
 ‘ much as is possible, of all Differences among our  
 ‘ good Subjects, and to take away all Occasion of the  
 ‘ like for the future, have thought fit to Authorize and  
 ‘ Empower you, &c. and any Nine of you, whereof  
 ‘ Three to be Bishops, to meet from Time to Time, as  
 ‘ often as shall be needful, and to prepare such Alterati-  
 ‘ ons of the *Liturgy* and *Canons*, and such Proposals for  
 ‘ the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consi-  
 ‘ der of such other Matters, as in your judgment may  
 ‘ most conduce to the Ends above-mention’d.’ Ten of  
 the Commissioners were then *Bishops*, and Twenty other  
 Dignitaries were added to them.

THESE Commissioners accordingly met and debated  
 Matters (but were deserted by Dr. *Jane*, and some others).  
 They drew up sundry Alterations, which, with such an  
 Allowance in the Point of Orders, for Ordination by  
 Presbyters, as is made 13 *Eliz. cap. 12.* would in all pro-  
 bability have brought in Two Thirds of the *Dissenters*  
 in *England*; which being done, and a Liberty continued  
 to such as could not be comprehended, would have been  
 greater Service to Religion than can easily be imagined.

THO’ an exact Copy of those Alterations cannot  
 yet be obtained, I shall not omit what Information and  
 Light has been given about it. \* The *Bishop*  
 of *Sarum* acquaints the Clergy in his Trien- \* In his Vi-  
 nial Visitation Charge, ‘ That the Commis- sitation  
 ‘ oners had before them all the Books and Charge,  
 ‘ Papers that the *Dissenters* had at any Time 1704.  
 ‘ offered, setting forth their Demands, toge-  
 ‘ ther with many Advices and Propositions, which had  
 ‘ been



been made at several Times by most of the best and most Learned of our Divines; of which the Bishop of Worcester had a great Collection; and that they accordingly prepared a Scheme to be laid before the Convocation, not limiting others, but reserving also to themselves a Liberty, if they saw better Reason for it, to change their Minds: Yet this, tho' it was only a Council created by the King to prepare Matters, was complained of as imposing on the Convocation, and as a limiting of it; and (tho' a Royal Licence was sent them) yet then a previous Resolution was taken to admit of no Amendments: Whereupon the Enemies of the Civil Government began to work on the Jealousies and Fears of many well-minded Men; and the preserving the Church was given out, by those who had far different Designs in View, to promote and carry on by it.' The

Bishop of *Lincoln* giving an Account of this Commission, says, 'That whatever was done by vertue thereof, was to have been carried on from them to the Two Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*, and after it

should have passed their Approbations, was finally to have been laid before the Two Houses of *Parliament*, and so to have gone on to the Royal Assent; and this being the Course that was designed, he was perswaded that nothing injurious to the Churches Welfare will ever be able to pass thro' all these; and by the Testimony of these Reverend Prelates it appears, that what was done herein in King *William's* Time, was but a Continuation of what was begun by Archbishop *Sandcroft* in the latter End of the former Reign; partly out of Tenderness to the *Dissenters*, and partly that the Church might not be unprovided upon the Revolution, as they had been before at the Time of the Restoration.

This Account being premised from those Reverend Bishops, the first of whom was in the said Commission himself, and present when those Matters were consider'd and determin'd by them; a more particular Account of the Proceedings of the said Commissioners, was given by Dr. *Nichols* in his *Apparat. ad def. Eccles. Anglic.* p. 95, 96.

He tells us,

'THEY began with reviewing the *Liturgy*, and that first they examin'd the Calender; in which, in the Room

Room of Apocryphal Lessons, they order'd certain Chapters of Canonical Scripture to be read, that were more to the People's Advantage: That *Athanasius's* Creed being disliked by many, because of the *Damnatory* Clause, it was left to the Ministers Choice either to use it, or change it for the Apostles Creed, and that New Collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole Course of the Year: That they were first drawn up by Dr. *Patrick*, and afterward reviewed and examined carefully by Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and Dr. *Tillotson*: That Dr. *Kidder* being well versed in the Oriental Tongues, made a new Version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the Original. Dr. *Tennison* made a Collection of the Words and Expressions thro' the Liturgy, which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their Room, that were clear and plain, and less liable to Exception; and that other Things also were proposed that were left to be determined by the Convocation: As, 1. That the Cross in Baptism might be either used or omitted, at the Choice of the Parents. 2. That a *Nonconformist* Minister going over to the Church, should not be Ordained as in the Common Form, but rather conditionally as the baptizing of Infants is order'd in the Church, if there is not Evidence of their being baptized before; with the Addition of the Episcopal Benediction, as was customary in the Ancient Church.

*The Proceeding  
of K. William's  
Ecclesiast Com-  
mission in 1689.*

A farther Account was given by another Hand, which, tho' in some respects defective, yet in the main there's Reason to think is right, viz. That after a List of all that seem'd fit to be changed was made, and the Alterations read over, the Commissioners proceeded very unanimously, and without any Heats, in determining as follows, (each Article as soon as agreed on, being signed by the Bishop of London) viz.

THAT the Chaunting of Divine Service in *Cathedral Churches* shall be laid aside, that the whole may be render'd Intelligible to the common People.

THAT, besides the *Psalms* being read in their Course as before, some proper and devout Ones be selected for Sundays.

That

THAT the *Apocryphal Lessons*, and those of the Old Testament, which are too *Natural*, be thrown out, and others appointed in the Stead by a new Calendar, which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the *Legendary Saint Days*, and others not directly refer'd to in the Service Book.

THAT not to send the Vulgar to search the *Canons*, which few of them ever saw, a Rubrick be made setting forth the Usefulness of the *Cross in Baptism*, not as an Essential Part of that Sacrament, but only a fit and decent Ceremony: However, if any do after all, in Conscience scruple it, that it may be omitted by the Priest.

THAT likewise if any refuse to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper *kneeling*, it may be administered to them in their Pews.

THAT a Rubrick be made, declaring the Intention of the *Lent-Fasts*, to consist only in extraordinary Acts of Devotion, not in *Distinction* of Meats; And another to state the Meaning of *Rogation Sundays* and *Ember Weeks*; and appoint that those ordained within the *Quatuor Tempora*, do exercise strict Devotion.

THAT the Rubrick, which obliges *Ministers* to read or hear *Common Prayer*, publickly or privately every Day, be chang'd to an Exhortation to the People to frequent those Prayers.

THAT the *Absolution* in Morning and Evening Prayer may be read by a Deacon; the Word *Priest* in the Rubrick being changed into *Minister*, and those Words [*and Remission*] be put out as not very intelligible.

THAT the *Gloria Patri*, shall not be repeated at the End of every Psalm, but of all appointed for Morning and Evening Prayer.

THAT those Words in the *Te Deum*, [*Thine honourable, true and only Son*] be thus turned, [*Thine only begotten Son*] *honourable* being only a Civil Term, and nowhere used in *Sacris*.

THAT the *Benedicite* be changed into the 128 Psalm; and other Psalms likewise appointed for the *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

THAT the *Versicle* after the Lord's Prayer be read Kneeling, to avoid the Trouble and Inconveniences of so often varying Postures in Divine Worship. And that  
after



after these Words, [*Give Peace in our Time O Lord,*] shall follow an Answer Promissory of somewhat on the People's Part, of keeping GOD's Laws, or the like; the old Responce being grounded on the Predestinating Doctrine, taken in too strict an Acceptation.

A L L high Titles or Appellations of the King, Queen; &c. to be left out of the Prayers, such as most *Illustrious, Religious, Mighty, &c.* and only the Word *Sovereign* retained for the King and Queen.

T H A T those Words in the Prayer for the King, [*Grant that he may vanquish and overcome all his Enemies*] as of too large an Extent, if the King ingage in an unjust War; shall be turned thus; *Prosper all his Righteous Undertakings against thy Enemies*; or after some such manner.

T H O S E Words in the Prayer for the Clergy, [*Who alone workest greatest Marvails*]; as subject to be ill interpreted by Persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, *Who alone art the Author of all good Gifts*: And those Words, [*The Healthful Spirit of thy Grace*] shall be the *Holy Spirit of thy Grace*. *Healthful* being an Obsolete Word.

T H E Prayer, which begins, [*O God whose Nature and Property,*] shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent Expressions; and besides not in the Original, but foisted in since by another Hand.

T H E *Collects* for the most Part were to be changed; for those the Bishop of *Chichester* had prepared; being a Review of the old Ones with Enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what Expressions were needful, so to be retrenched.

I F any Minister refuse the *Surplice*, the Bishop (if the People desire it, and the Living will bear it) may substitute one in his Place that will officiate in it; but the whole Thing is left to the Discretion of the Bishops.

I F any desire to have *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* omitted, and their Children presented in their own Names to *Baptism*, it may be granted.

A B O U T the *Athanasian Creed*, they came at last to this Conclusion. That lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable Persons be imputed to them as *Socinianism*, a Rubrick shall be made, setting forth, or declaring the Curses denounced therein, not to be restrained to every

every particular Article, but intended against those that deny the Substance of the Christian Religion in general.

WHETHER the Amendment of the *Translation of the Reading Psalms*, (as they are called) made by the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and *Dr. Kidder*, or that in the *Bible*, shall be intèrted in the *Prayer Book*, is wholly left to the Convocation to consider of and determine.

IN the *Litany*, *Communion Service*, &c. were some Alterations made, as also in the *Canons*, of which a particular Account was not given.

Novemb. 16. THE Bishop of *Sarum* gave an excellent Exhortation to Peace and Union, in a  
 Pag. 14. Sermon he preach'd on *Acts 7. 26.* says he,  
*We here in England have had a long and fierce Contest about Things, which we all confess are indifferent in their own Nature. This Animosity works still so high amongst us, that many take Fire upon the smallest Steps that can be made towards the healing of so great a Breach; and fill all Places with Tragical Outcries, as if the Church of England was to be pull'd down; while the chief Promoters of these Reports know well how false they are, and that instead of offering at any Thing that can weaken it, every Thing that hath been endeavour'd, must prove its Strength, as well as Glory, if we are so happy as to weigh all in even Ballances. The Things that are propos'd, are of themselves desirable, though their should not be one Dissenter gain'd by them; and are such as will tend to make all the Parts of our Offices, both more unexceptionable and more edifying. But Distempers are far gone when the Patient rages at the first Mention of a Medicine. We have lost many happy Opportunities, since the first Beginning of the Reformation among us for the healing our Breaches; one is sorry to remember them, and wishes that such fatal Errors could be cover'd from the Knowledge of all succeeding Ages, for the sake of the Church, and of those who have govern'd it. But if we do again repeat former Errors, and let the present Advantages now in our Hands slip from us, what is to be said upon it, but that this is of the LORD, who by it is punishing us for our other Sins, our Remissness in our Duties; Neglect of the Pastoral Care; our Slackning that Strictness of Life that becomes our Profession, and indulging our Selves too much in Sensuality and Laziness; and for all those*

those other Sins by which we have departed from his Law, and corrupted the Covenant of Levi, and made many to stumble at the Law: That therefore GOD will make us become Base and Contemptible before the People; and that all our Flocks shall be scatter'd. But we might hope for better Things, if every one would put away all Prejudices, all Wrath, Anger, and Revenge; and would put on Bowels of Mercies and Kindness, remembering that we are Brethren, so that having purified our Selves from Humour, Passion, Interest, and every Thing else that may corrupt our Minds, unto unfeign'd Love of the Brethren, we would resolve to love one another with a pure Heart fervently; and if instead of the Pride of not yielding to one another in any Thing, we should rather engage into a Holy Emulation of trying who could yield most for the healing of those Wounds, that have been so often open'd, and that begin now again to bleed afresh. He adds, GOD be thanked for it, that there is an End put to all Persecution in Matters of Conscience, and that the first and chief Right of Humane Nature, of following the Dictates of Conscience in the Service of GOD, is secured to all Men among us; And that we are freed, I hope, for ever of all the Remnants of that worst Part of Popery, which we had too long retained, I mean, the Spirit of Persecution. If this gives Uneasiness to any, it shews that their Eye is Evil, because the Eye of our Legislators has been Good towards those, who tho' they may be mistaken in their Notions, yet have still the Rights of Men and of Christians. But after all this, it is to be remembred, that Men may be still Persecutors, tho' they are not able to persecute any longer, according to Our Saviour's Charge in the Guilt of intended Sins, on those who never acted them; for as long as we entertain Hatred and Malice in our Hearts, and wish that it were in our Power to do Hurt to others, so long we become Guilty before GOD, and so do wrong to our Selves, tho' we are not in a Condition to do them any. If we love to keep up old Differences, or to create new ones, and will continue to make the Terms of Communion with us as strait as possibly we can, and shut out all Persons as much as in us lies, from joyning their Labours with us, because they do not in all Things think as we do; If we will by Turns employ all the Interest we have in any Turn of Government that is kind to us, to do Wrong

Mal. 2. 8, 9.

Pag. 27.



to others, either by loading them with false Accusations, by aggravating some lesser Matters, or by an undue Prosecution of real, but repented Faults; all these are the several Instances, in which an injurious Temper shews it self.

ALL the Discourse now was about this *Ecclesiastical Commission* so different from that in the foregoing Reign, some were earnest for it, and others as warm against it. They that were for it asserted, That it was every Way agreeable to the Laws of the Land; That it was justified by several Precedents since the Reformation, in the Reigns of King Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles II. That it was so far from being Prejudicial to a Convocation, that it was likely to be useful to it, by Way of Preparation, to get Things ready for such a Body, which must to be sure be done by a few. That the Result of their Diliberations were *Proposals* only, not *Impositions*; that the Persons employed in this Commission were unexceptionable; all Church-men, such as would sit in Convocation, *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Arch-deacons*; Men of known Abilities, Probity and Worth. That all Churches in Process of Time, though at first as well constituted as the Age and Case would bear, may admit of Alterations and Improvements; That notwithstanding the Review in 61, the Constitution was still capable of another; That having at that Time Reason for the Alterations, which were computed to be about six Hundred, there was equal, if not greater Reason for farther Improvements. That if they at that Time had offered to move much farther, a Stone would have been laid under their Wheel by a secret, but powerful Hand. That the best Church is not absolutely perfect in all Circumstantial Things, nor can it ever be made so here on Earth; that it would be Comfortable to the *Conformists* to have Strength and Beauty added to that House, (by fitting Alterations) in which they resolved to live and dye; that if the *Dissenters* were not thereby gained upon, they'd be left inexcusable. And that there was now a very fit Juncture for such a Design; because of the Desire of their Majesties; the Concurrence of the Lords in their *Bill of Union*; and the Expectation of the Reformed Churches Abroad, who looked that something should now be done that might make for Peace and Union. It was farther allow'd by those that were Moderate, *That*  
other

other Methods having been tryed to the utmost, to remove that mischievous Schism that hath so long disturbed the Church of CHRIST in this Nation, what other Way is left of attempting it, but by coming to some Terms of Moderation and Temper with those that Dissent from us, and as far as we are able to abate of that which has given the Original thereto; those excepted Passages in our Liturgy, and those Ceremonies in our Worship which our Dissenting Brethren cannot conform with us in; what are those Things which we differ about, that we must for ever sacrifice to them, the Peace both of Church and State, without abating the least Title for so great a Good as that of common Union of Christians among us? Is it not enough, that for the sake of those Trifles we have so long driven up our Divisions and Animosities against each other to that Height, as that we had almost Totally given up our Church to Popery, and our Government to Tyranny thereby; surely 'tis now Time to sit down, and consider whether those Things are of such great Value, for the sake of which we bring so much Mischief to this poor distressed Church and Nation, that nothing can be abated of that unreasonable Rigour, whereby we have hitherto maintained them. Could but an Union be once effected amongst our Selves, we need not fear all the Power of France and Rome in the firmest Union against us.

THE Convocation met in December, in which these Matters were to be determined. But the Choice that was then made of a Prolocutor, put an End soon to the Hopes of some, and hearten'd others: For Dr. Jane was preferr'd therein to that Excellent Person Dr. Tillotson, which was an Evidence, that the same Interest that had so long opposed, was still too strong for the Moderate Party, and that therefore no Alterations were to be look'd for. Dr. Beveridge preach'd a Latin Sermon, which tended to confirm them farther in that Opinion. He told them, *That to change old Laws for new, is always dangerous, unless such a Necessity constrain, as is otherwise insuperable.* And *Leges Angliae nolumus mutare*, was the Motto of the Prevailing Party in the Convocation. The Bishop of London told the Clergy, *That they ought to endeavour a Temper in those Things that are not Essential in Religion, thereby to open the Doors of Salvation to a Multitude of straying Christians, and that it must needs be their Duty, to shew the same Indulgence and Charity to*  
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the Dissenters under King William, which some of the Bishops and Clergy had promised to them in their Addresses to King James. And he concluded with a pathetical Exhortation to Unanimity and Concord: His Majesty sent them a Message by the Earl of Nottingham, intimating, That he had summoned this Convocation, not only because it was usual upon holding a Parliament, but out of a pious Zeal to do every Thing that might tend to the best Establishment of the Church of England, &c. And that he expected the Things he propos'd should be calmly and impartially considered; he intending to offer nothing but what should be for the Honour, Peace and Advantage both of the Protestant Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England. The King's Message being read, the Bishops sent a Copy of it to the Lower House, with the Form of an Address to his Majesty; but they were at first for Addressing the King in a Form of their own. They disliked this Expression in the Bishop's Form, that they thanked his Majesty for *his Zeal for the Protestant Religion in general, and the Church of England in particular*. They were for confining themselves to what concerned the Church of England, and were very Zealous for amending that Clause; a Conference was thereupon held between some deputed by the Two Houses, and was managed chiefly between the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Fane the Prolocutor. The Upper House of Convocation desired the express Mention of the *Protestant Religion* might be inserted for these Reasons: 1. Because it is the known Denomination of the common Doctrines of the *Western Part of Christendom*, in Opposition to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. 2. Because the leaving out this may have ill Consequences, and be liable to strange Constructions both at Home and Abroad, among *Protestants* as well as *Papists*. 3. Because it agrees with the general Reason offer'd by the Clergy for their Amendments, since this is expressly mentioned in the King's Message; and in this the Church of *England* being so much concern'd, the Bishops thought it ought to stand in the Address. The Lower House fell into a Debate upon these Reasons, but did not comply fully with the Manner of the Bishops expressing it, and was not Content to stand upon the Level with other *Protestant Churches*. It is not to be wonder'd at, that they who stuck so much



much at a Thing of this Nature, should be backward to yield to such Alterations, as would be necessary to heal the Breaches that have been kept open so long in this Church and Nation.

THE Want of Union at this Time, was by several Persons ascribed to different Causes: The Author of the *Compleat History of England*, \* Vol. 3. p. the Earl of Clarendon, says, \* *It must be* 522. & 555. *owned that this was a glorious Opportunity of Reconciling all moderate Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England, which might have been happily effected, if this extraordinary Juncture, had been well managed and improved.* He says, that many Arguments were used to bring the most stiff of the Inferior Clergy to a Charitable Condescension, and the much desired Union; but to little purpose. That there was a Jealousy and Distrust not to be conquered. And that the best and most favourable Gloss that the Matter will bear on their Side, is what he adds further, viz. *That the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his Suffragans, and some other Divines, [having taken the Oaths before to King James] would not own the Government that then was, and were therefore ready to fall into a new Separation from their Brethren: So that at this Juncture it might appear to them to be dangerous to make any Change that might give a Pretence of their being for the Old Church, as well as the Old King; and yet even this Pretence was not thereby prevented.*

AFTER this, the Convocation was adjourned from Time to Time, till at last it was, with the Parliament, dissolv'd, without doing any Thing at all in pursuance to the King's Message, and their Commission. The Reverend Bishop Burnet has given us a full and clear Account of this Matter. *I shall only, says he, touch on one Particular, which will shew, that when Men are disposed to be Jealous, they will suspect every Thing; even That, which at another Time would be thought the most effectual Method to prevent or cure Jealousy. Princes do commonly prepare the Matters which they propose to such Assemblies, with the Advice of their Council: But upon that Occasion the King and Queen did create a Council, by a special Commission, of all the Bishops that owned their Authority, and of the most eminent of the Clergy, gathered from the several Parts*

of the Kingdom, that they might consider and prepare such Things as should be offered by them to the King and Queen, that so their Majesties might propose these to the Convocation. This surely was done in Favour to the Church. But even this was cryed out upon as a Limiting the Convocation, with many other hard Words; which I do not love to repeat. It did then appear in many Visible Instances, that our Wounds were then too tender to be either handled or healed; so it was thought thought fit to let the Matter sleep, and to give no new Occasion to Heat or Animosity: But at the same Time to keep the Clergy still ready upon Call, if there should be any Occasion during the Sessions of Parliament. It was not the only Controversy then amongst them, whether there should be Alterations or not in Ecclesiastical Matters, some of them were dissatisfied with taking the Oaths to the Government, and refused them, yet continued preaching for some Time after they were legally silenced, (which was the Thing they had before charged as a Crime on their Nonconforming Brethren) and at length quitted their Preferments, and made thereby a new Separation themselves, refusing to hold Communion with those who had taken the Oaths to the Government; and they on the contrary represented them as Schismatics, falling into the same Fault they had express'd such a Sense of in others. The same Persons who had formerly the least Charity for the Nonconformists, were forc'd to borrow Pleas from them to defend themselves from the Charge of Schism: But the Dissenters still kept their Ground, adhering to the same Principles they had acted upon all along; they were hearty to the Government, and thankful for their Liberty, and set themselves to make a Religious Improvement of it. They publicly Ordain'd such to the Sacred Ministry, as had had a Learned Education in order to their Fitness for it; first carefully examining them, and then solemnly laying Hands upon them, after Fasting and Prayer, according to the Rules for that Purpose in the Directory of the Westminster Assembly. They carried it lovingly to each other, and acted in Concert: And tho' they could not prevail for any such Alterations in the Ceremonies, Worship, and Discipline of the Church, as should pave the Way to a Coalition, they yet carried it with such a Respect both to Civil and Ecclesiastical Governours, as many

many who had formerly valued themselves upon their Submissiveness, were now wanting in, tho' with little Hopes of a *Comprehension* by the desired Amendments, when so favourable a Juncture as this was pass'd by, and had produc'd Nothing.

THE Dissenting Ministers of the several Denominations, also subscribed the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England*, as the Act of Parliament required; with a brief Explication of some few Expressions in them that were dubious, which some of them gave in as their Sense at the Time of their Subscription. But they were at the same Time fully convinced, that it must be some very peculiar Providence indeed, that must satisfy those of a *Necessity* of a Coalition between the Contending Parties, who discovered so much Backwardness to embrace two such happy Opportunities, as the Restoration of King *Charles*, and the *Revolution*, for the Healing of our uncomfortable Breaches.

*Which may be seen in Dr. Calamy's Abridgment, p. 469.*

OUR Glorious King *William* dyed *March 8, 1702*; of whom the Historian who wrote his Life, gives this Character, That tho' he publicly profess'd the Establish'd Religion, yet he still retained a great Tenderness for the Dissenters, and was ever averse to Persecute People on the Account of their Belief. A Character which argued him to have a just Sense of the Rights of Human Nature, as well as of the true Interest of the Nation. He had indeed such a Regard to the *Dissenters*, (tho' they differ'd in some Respects from the National Establishment) as was to his Honour in the Eyes of most unprejudic'd, sober, and good Men, that were best able to make a true and impartial Judgment in that Case. And he was also apprehensive of their Fidelity to him, and Firmness in his Interest, and that of the Nation, from which it was inseparable; They not only at first, together with the greatest and best Part of the Nation, extolled him as their Deliverer from Popery and Slavery, but in the whole Course of his Reign, (which visibly aimed at the Publick Good) they rejoiced in any Opportunity to manifest their Fidelity to him, and Zeal for his Service, and the Respect that was due to the great Defender of the Liberties of *Europe*. They Heartily lamented the unspeakable Loss which



the Nation sustained by his Death, and none are to this Day more grateful to his Memory, and truly thankful for the Settlement of the Succession in the Protestant Line, the blessed and happy Fruit whereof we now enjoy, and which all true Protestants, and such as are faithful to the Interest of the Nation, are rejoicing in; which must, (next to the infinite Wisdom and merciful Care of the Divine Providence for the Preservation of these Nations) be ascribed to his tender Concern for us, and for the securing our Liberty and Religion, to our Posterity after us.

UPON the Death of the King, those that had retained their former Prejudices against the Dissenters, and bore them ill Will before, now more openly triumphed, and by several Sermons that were preach'd, and Pamphlets dispers'd, they endeavour'd to blacken them as much as was possible; and such a violent Temper discovered itself, and an Inclination to Heat and Fury, as plainly shew'd the Parties affected to have been kept under an unnatural Sort of Restraint before. But her Majesty openly declaring for the same Measures as had been pursued in the last Reign of her Royal Brother, and the House of Peers appearing Zealous for the Memory of King *William*, it was a Curb and a Check to them.

AMONGST the many Addresses presented to her Majesty at the first Entrance on her Reign, the Dissenting Ministers in and about the City, waited on her in a Body, with an Address (which they presented by Dr *Williams*) expressing the deep Sense they had of the unspeakable Loss they and the whole Nation sustained in the Death of his Majesty, and congratulated her happy and peaceable Succession to the Crown, which they with the greatest Sincerity acknowledged her Majesty's rightful and undoubted Title to, and assured her Majesty of their Dutiful Affection to her Person and Government:

THE Ministers of the Three Denominations, *Presbyterian, Congregational* and *Antepædobaptists*, appeared together in this Address, the rather to manifest to those who were common Enemies to them all, that their Differences among themselves in those Matters wherein they differ'd, were not such as was inconsistent with, or hinder'd them from maintaining a Brotherly Affection. They took the Oath to the Government, as it was now alter'd

alter'd by the Parliament, as freely as any; desiring to live peaceably and quietly under it, serving GOD according to their Consciences, and to their utmost assisting and supporting the Government, in a necessary, hazardous, and expensive War against the Enemy of the Peace of *Europe*.

BUT the Debate about Occasional Conformity, which had been raised in the foregoing Reign, was now reviv'd with great Warmth. The Moderation of the *Dissenters* towards the Establish'd Church, that was formerly reckoned a Vertue, was now represented as Criminal, and an Evidence of an ill Design; and that was cry'd down as sinful when it qualified for an Office, which they had from the first declared to be lawful in their Apprehension, (with some Limitations, and in some Cases) and had accordingly practised in a private Capacity: But it being the Desire of many to bring them still under a Popular Odium, this was reckoned a proper Step to it; and few wrote on the Churches Side, as it was pretended, but made this the Matter now of their Invectives and Censures. This was the *Common Cry* of the Leaders of that Party in the Election of a new Parliament, and the Populace, that are usually led more by Noise than Reason, gave into it.

AT the opening of the Parliament, *Octob. 21.* (in electing which there was a mighty Struggle) the Queen told them, she was resolv'd to defend and maintain the Church as by Law establish'd, and to protect them in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Liberties; yet this would not satisfy those Men that had other Things in their View, without endeavouring to narrow the Liberty and Priviledges of the *Dissenters*; which both by the Laws of the Nation, and as Protestants and faithful Subjects to the Government, they had a just Claim and Title to: But this Liberty in its full Extent, it seems, stood too much in their Way, that had other Designs to be carried on by the narrowing of it.

Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Ansley, were order'd to bring in a Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity; and a Motion was made for excepting Protestant *Dissenters* from such Offices as cannot be executed, without receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England, and was carried in the Negative: But that

Bill, as otherwise framed, pass'd the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, Dec. 9. But a Majority of the Bishops were for such Amendments, as occasioned a Conference between the Two Houses, and at length the Dropping of the Bill.

THE Commons even in this Bill they had pass'd, expressed themselves thus in the Preamble of it: 'That as  
' Nothing is more contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the  
' Church of England, than Persecution for Conscience only; and that in due Consideration of it, an Act pass'd  
' in the 1st Year of King William and Queen Mary, for the exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of  
' certain Laws; which Act ought inviolably to be observed, and Ease given to Consciences truly Scrupulous; nevertheless, &c.

THE House of Commons was very warm in Defence of the Bill which had passed their House, and the Managers appointed by that House urged many Things for the maintaining and Defence of their Proceedings in Favour of it. The Managers for the Lords, on the other hand, declared the Reasons why they could not entirely agree to it. They owned it to be a scandal to Religion, that Persons should conform *only* for a Place, and that by agreeing to the Bill so far as they had done, they had gone a great Way for the preventing the Evil it was intended to Remedy: That they did not think going to a Meeting to be *Malum in se*, for that the *Dissenters* are Protestants, and differ from the Church of England only in some little Forms; and they would not by this Bill deprive Men of their Birth-rights: That they did not think it fit to bring any greater Hardships upon the *Dissenters*, since great Advantages have accrued from the Act of Toleration: That they were so satisfied of the Necessity of Union at this Time, that they thought all Measures fatal, that might create Divisions among Protestants at Home, or check the necessary Union of the Allies Abroad: That the Toleration had had such good Effects, contributed so much to the Security and Reputation of the Church of England, and produced so good a Temper among *Dissenters*, that the Lords were unwilling to give the least Discredit to that Act; *Liberty of Conscience* and  
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gentle Measures being most proper, and having been found most effectual toward Increasing the Church, and diminishing the Number of *Dissenters*: That they conceived both the *last* Reign and *This* began upon the same Bottom and Foundation; and that as in this Reign Her Majesty had been pleased to give gracious Assurances as to *Liberty of Conscience*; so in the former the Church had ever met with Protection and Support: That it was hard, as well as untrue, what had been suggested by some, that the *Dissenters never wanted the Will when they had the Power to destroy the Church and State*; since in the last and greatest Danger the Church was exposed to, they joyned with her with all imaginable Zeal and Sincerity against the *Papists*, their Common Enemies; and that ever since they have continued to shew all the Signs of Friendship and Submission to the Government of Church and State: That *Toleration* and *Tenderness* had never miss'd of procuring Peace and Union, as Persecution had never fail'd of producing contrary Effects: That the Lords could not think the *Dissenters* could properly be called *Schismatics*: That such an Opinion allow'd wou'd bring an heavy Charge upon the Church of *England*, who by a Law have tolerated such a *Schism*; and that the Church-Men having allow'd Communion with the Reformed Churches Abroad, it must follow they hold them not guilty of *Schism*, or could not allow Communion with them: That this Bill would inflict a second Punishment on them who fled from *France* for their Religion, and that this might be used as an Argument to justify even the Persecution in *France*; they were of Opinion, the *Dissenters* were coming into the Church, and that nothing but terrifying Measures and Severity could prevent the happy Union: They observ'd that the Penalties of that Bill against *Dissenters* were higher than any the Law had laid on *Papists*, for assisting at the solemnest Act of *their Religion*: That this Occasional Conformity had been both the Principle and Practice of some of the most eminent among the *Dissenters*, ever since *Bartholomew* in 1662; nor is it a certain Inference, that because a Man receives the Sacrament in the Church, he can therefore conform in every Particular: That Occasional Conformity was a Step that carried many much farther; and that they were not willing to ruin Persons utterly on Account of a Practice,

that many well meaning Men have been, and may be led into, and which they think naturally tends to bring them over entirely to the Church. The Lords adhering to these Amendments after the Commons made their Objections against them, the Bill at this Time came to nothing. And

AT the End of the Session, *Feb. 27. 1703.* the Queen declared from the Throne in her closing Speech, *That she was firmly resolved to maintain the Act of Toleration; and recommended Peace and Union, as the most effectual Means that could be devised to discourage and defeat the Designs of our Enemies.*

THE Parliament meeting again, *Novemb. the 9th 1703,* the Occasional Bill, which had miscarried before, was again brought into the House of Commons. It was the same in Substance now as before, but differ'd in several Things. It was again by one of the Members of that House argued warmly for, with some unbecoming Reflections on those that opposed it, and it pass'd the Commons again, *Dec. 7.* and was sent up to the Lords, who treated it so coldly that they'd scarce allow it a second Reading. The Bishop of *Sarum* on that Occasion said, He was sensible it was a Disadvantage, especially to one of his Bench, to speak against any Thing which in the *Sound and first Appearance* seem'd to be intended for the Service of the Church; and that if he was not fully convinced that this Bill was *not* so, he could not have a Heart or a Face to speak against it: That he look'd upon himself as bound up in this Respect by his Promise in the Address at the Beginning of the Session: That the Bishops had been indecently reflected on, because they could not think this Bill for the Service of the Church; but that they appeal'd to the World and their Diocesses as to their true Zeal for the Church, and that they were above such Calumnies: That the Capital Proceedings in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the severe Act in her 25th Year, that punishes Meetings with Imprisonment, Banishment and Death, was a Blemish even of that glorious Reign: That the Repeal of that Act had pass'd in both Houses, and *its known by what Management it was, that it was not tender'd to the Royal Assent*: That Queen's Treasurer was known to be a Church Papist, and yet continued in that great Post 14 Years till his Death.

THAT

THAT the Severities of King *James's* Reign cast a Blot upon it, and the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission* not a little contributed to the Miseries of the Civil War. He says, the Proceedings in King *Charles's* Reign were severe, and set on with bad Designs; and that after the Restoration, it had been a very easie Thing to have made up all Differences among us; but the Design was to inflame them: That all the Severities of that Reign could not bring the *Dissenters* to petition for a *General Toleration*; but that the whole Management, with relation to the *Dissenters*, was an Artifice to advance a *Papish* Interest: That by the Toleration Act the Heat raised by our Dissentions is much allay'd; but that this Bill alarm'd them, who apprehended the Toleration was aim'd at, and that it was a Step that would he follow'd by more: That this would make Men Jealous, and was very unseasonable, in a Time of War, when all was at Stake; and that any Thing that divides and weakens us, must give our Allies a Melancholy Prospect.

HE observed, that Things are suspicious, when the Men that promote them, and write for them without Doors, are known and avowed Enemies of the Government. He intimated, that *L—*, that *High-Church Man*, had written two furious Books for this Bill; and that he knew one of the eminentest Papists of the Age, say, that he was for the *Church of England* as by Law Establish'd; and being ask'd how such a Profession could agree with Sincerity, he answer'd, that he look'd upon all the Laws of Queen *Mary* as yet in full Force; and he thought that the Fury with which this Matter was driven, heighten'd the Jealousy.

THAT it was hard, his Lordship said, that they who had all their Lives been building up the Church, must now be defam'd as undermining it, because they could not comply with other Mens Notions: That he own'd he began the World on a Principle of Moderation, which he had carried down thro' his whole Life, and in which he hop'd he should continue to his Lives End: That he could not in the general condemn *Occasional Conformity*; That he had himself practis'd it in *Geneva* and *Holland*, and would do so again if there were Occasion. And supposing the *Dissenters* mistaken, yet he did not see yet why they might not be tolerated in it: That they have  
been



been all along call'd on to come as near the Church as they could. And after several other Reasons against the Bill, he added in the Close that he thought it ought not now to be entertained.

THE Lord *Haversham* also made a Speech against it, and the Lord *M——* said, that if they pass'd this Bill, they had as good tack the pretended Prince of Wales to it. After a warm Debate at the second Reading, the Bill was rejected by a Majority of 12 or 13 Voices.

A little before this Session of Parliament, Dr *Davenant*, a Civilian, wrote a Book entituled, *Essays upon Peace at Home and War Abroad*; which was said to be written with the Encouragement of the Lord Treasurer, perswading All to throw aside their Heats and Animosities, and unite in their own Defence against the Common Danger, with a Design to dissuade from bringing in, and passing this Bill. And

THE Queen in her Speech at the Rising of the Parliament, press'd them to go down into their several Countries, so disposed to Moderation and Unity, as it became all those who were joyned together in the same Religion and Interest.

SEVERAL Tracts were published about this Time on the Subject of *Occasional Conformity*; and in the Defence of it, one by Mr *James Owen*, entituled, *Moderation a Vertue, or the Occasional Conformist justified from the Imputation of Hypocrisy*: Another call'd the *Interest of England consider'd, in respect to Protestants dissenting from the Establish'd Church; with some Thoughts about Occasional Conformity*. To which the Reader must be refer'd, who desires to be farther informed of the Reasons that have been and might be given by the *Dissenters* for that Practice.

IN October 1704, the Parliament met again. Her Majesty then signified in her Speech, Her Hopes that there would be no Contention among them, but who should most promote the Publick Welfare. And the Commons in their Address promised they would endeavour by all proper Methods to prevent Divisions: But notwithstanding this, the Bill against Occasional Communion was brought in a third Time, Nov. 27, not differing in any Thing very material from the former; and it was mov'd, at the second Reading, to tack this Bill to a Money Bill; but by a Majority of 251 Voices against 134 it was rejected;

jected; and when sent to the Lords, they carried it against a second Reading, by such a Majority of Voices as was very considerable. Had this Tacking Method succeeded, Publick Affairs would have been at a Stand; and the Queen minded the Parliament of it at their Rising, when in her closing Speech she told them, *That they had so narrowly escaped the fatal Effects of unreasonable Humour and Animosity in that Session, that it ought to be a sufficient Warning against all dangerous Experiments for the future.* This Tacking seem'd to carry in it a Design to take away the Negative of the Sovereign, and of the Lords: And had the Lords thrown out the Money Bill on the Account of the *Tack*, the Consequence of it might have been fatal, particularly in respect of the War, which was to be carried on thereby. This caused a general Indignation against the *Tackers*. On the other Hand, their Design being thereby frustrated, some inveyed with great Bitterness against all that stood in the Way, and that contributed to the crossing of those Designs that were to have been promoted by it. In the Election of a new Parliament, which came on this Year, the Danger of the Church was the common Cry on one Side, by them and their Adherents, and those that were drawn in and unwarily deluded by it; while the Danger from the *Tackers* was the Cry on the other: But the Moderate Party hitherto carried it. The *Memorial* of the Church of *England*, was, about this Time, sent forth to enflame the Nation, and made more Noise than any Thing that had been of a long Time publish'd. It was indeed a plain threatening of the Court and the then Ministry. Enquiry was made after the Author or Authors, but no satisfactory Discovery could be made. This Pamphlet gave general Offence, tho' some there were that vindicated it; and whoever will be at the Pains to give it the Reading now, and compare several Passages of it, with what has since happen'd of late Years (since that Bill was pass'd) will be apt to conclude, that they who fram'd this *Memorial*, gave Measures to others, and had the Conduct of the whole Party.

IT was presented by the Grand Jury of the City of *London*, and by Order of that Court burnt at the *Old Baily*, and before the *Royal Exchange*; and the new Parliament met in *October*, under the Impressions of ill Designs

signs on foot, and carrying on among some that pretended a mighty Zeal for the Interest of the Church.

HER Majesty again in her first Speech, *Octob. 27, 1705*, among other Things, earnestly recommended an Union of Minds and Affections, as that which would above all Things disappoint and defeat the Hopes and Designs of our Enemies; and added these memorable Words: *I cannot but with great Grief observe, there are some amongst us, who endeavour to foment Animosities; but I perswade my self they will be found to be very few, when you appear to assist me in discountenancing and defeating such Practices. I mention this with a little more Warmth, because there have not been wanting some so very malicious, as even in Print to suggest the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd, to be in Danger at this Time. I am willing to hope not one of my Subjects can really entertain a Doubt of my Affection to the Church, and therefore we may be certain, that they who go about to insinuate Things of this Nature, must be mine and the Kingdom's Enemies, and can only mean to cover Designs which they dare not publickly own; by endeavouring to distract us with unreasonable and groundless Distrusts and Jealousies. I will always Affectionately Support and Countenance the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd; and I will inviolably maintain the Toleration, &c.* The Lords in their Address entirely harmoniz'd with Her Majesty therein, and the Commons also express'd the same Disposition in the Address of their House; and assur'd the Queen, as the Lords had done, that they would be ready zealously to concur in all Measures requisite to discourage and put a Stop to the Malice of such Incendiaries, and to disappoint her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. There were notwithstanding some Debates afterward in both the Houses, upon this Point, whether the Church of England was in any Danger.

THE Lord *Rocheſter* mention'd the Act of Security which had pass'd in *Scotland*, as giving some Ground for that Apprehension, and urged the Reasonableness of the Occasional Bill, and the Duke of *Leeds* spoke also in Favour of it in the House of Lords; and Mr *Bromley* and Sir *J. P.* urged the same in the House of Commons: But it was carried by a Majority of near double the Number in each of the Houses, both of Lords and Commons, against such a groundless and malicious Assertion. The Lord



Lord *Hallifax* said, that the Act of Security in *Scotland* was wholly foreign to Church Affairs; and that it had appeared to that House when they canvass'd the Occasional Bill, that it would not prove a Security to the Church, but rather the contrary: That there had been Times when the Church was in Danger, as when King *Charles II*, Reigned, that was a *Romanist*, and yet the Church thought herself then secure; and those Patriots who stood up in Defence of it, and endeavour'd to prevent the Evils that might ensue from a *Popish* Succession, were discountenanc'd and punish'd: That when the Successor came to the Throne, and the Church was apparently in the greatest Danger, some could Sit in the *High Commission* Court, &c. But that after the Accession of King *WILLIAM* to the Crown, [who was] a Protestant Prince,] The Cry of the Church's Danger began, and was continued all his Reign; but he could not tell upon what Ground. The Bishop of *London* urged the Commonness of Prophaneness and Irreligion, and the Licentiousness of the Press as a Proof of the Danger the Church was in, and that Sermons were preach'd, in which Rebellion was authorized, and Resistance to the Higher Powers encouraged, referring to a Sermon of Mr. *Hoadley's* before the Lord Mayor, that was printed. The Bishop of *Sarum* replied, That if the Doctrine of that Sermon was not good, he did not know what Defence his Lordship could make for his Appearance in Arms at *Nottingham*. He imputed all the present Clamour to the Ambition and Discontent of particular Men. And said, that the Church would always be subject to the Enmity of Prophaneness and Irreligion; and reflected on some Sermons preach'd at *Oxford* upon Publick Occasions. The Bishop of *Ely* moved for consulting the Judges about the Power of the Queen to Visit the Universities, complaining of the Heat and Passion of the Gentlemen there, which they inculcated upon their Pupils, who brought the same Fury with them to their Parishes when they came Abroad, to the great Disturbance of Publick Charity. He complained also of the Undutifulness of the Clergy to their Bishops, and the Difficulty they had to govern them regularly. And Complaint was also made of the Opprobrious Names the Clergy gave them. And also of the Terms of *High* and *Low*

*Low Church.* The Lord *Sommers* said, That for Men to raise groundless Jealousies at this Time of Day, could mean no less, than an Intention to embroil us at Home, and to defeat all our glorious Designs Abroad. And it was then Resolved in the House of Lords, 'That the Church of England, as by Law Etablish'd, which was rescued from the extreamest Danger by King WILLIAM III, of Glorious Memory, is now, by God's Blessing, under the happy Reign of her Majesty, in a most safe and flourishing Condition: And that whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the Church is in Danger under her Majesty's Administration, is an Enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom.' The Commons also having debated the same in a full House, agreed to the like Resolution, and the Two Houses determined to lay the same before her Majesty, and made an Address to her accordingly; and begg'd that she would take effectual Measures for making the said Resolution publick; and for punishing the Authors and Spreaders of these Seditious and Scandalous Reports. And pursuant thereto, a Proclamation was issued out, offering a Reward of Two hundred Pounds to any that should discover the Author of the Memorial, so as he might be brought to Justice for his Offence.

THIS Year, 1708, a new Parliament was chosen, and sat, but meddled not with any Ecclesiastical Matters in their first Session, and were prorogued to Feb. 25, following.

AT this Time was published a Letter from a Gentleman in *Scotland* against the *Sacramental Test*; as inconsistent with the Union, dangerous to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of *North Britain*, and also inconsistent with the Civil Interest of *Great Britain* in general; that it was contrary likewise to the Design of Our Saviour's Institution of the LORD's Supper; and to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

THE *Test Act* is therein represented as contrary to the Rules of Religion, because it requires an End in receiving the Sacrament that must prophane it, and such as bears no Proportion to the Original Design of it; and usurps an Authority which no Power on Earth can lay any just Claim to, to apply Divine Institutions to such Ends as only serve the Interest of Politick Societies; and

and obliges such as have any Civil Post, to take the Sacrament, without any Regard to the Fitness which the Law of CHRIST requires for that Solemnity: That it looks as if it was no Matter how ill a Character a Person bore, if it can be covered with the Name of *Churchman*; which shews, that it is not the Honour of Religion, but the Secular Interest of a Party that is principally regarded, &c.

IN another Discourse also, writ by Dr *Potter*, of *Church Government*, which came out about the same Time, the Rights of the Church, and the Supremacy of Christian Princes, are vindicated and adjusted.

BUT this Year, 1709, was not remarkable for any Thing more than Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's* on November 5, entituled, *The Perils of False Brethren*, &c. which gave great Offence to all the Asserters of the late happy Revolution, whereby we were so signally deliver'd from the then so imminent Danger of *Ruin* and *Misery*. His Impeachment is yet fresh in Memory. In the Time of his Tryal there was an open Rebellion against the Government, though the Parliament was sitting; the Members of both Houses were insulted; and several Meeting Houses were broken open in and about the City, and the Pulpits and Pews burnt by a Riotous Multitude, and other Places, nay, even the *Bank* itself, as well as private Houses of Persons of Note were threatned, the Queen's Guards were openly resisted, and such a Spirit discovered itself, as not a little terrified all the hearty Friends of the Government. Perhaps the Time may come, when it may more evidently appear, by whose Influence and Encouragement this open Rebellion was then raised in Disfiance to the Queen and Parliament, and those Designs be set in a clearer Light, which were at that Time so secretly set on Foot, but have since been too apparently carrying on by a *corrupt* Ministry, in order to the Subversion of the Government, and of the whole Protestant Interest both in this Nation, and these Parts of the Christian World; and which there is Reason to believe were so long hid even from the Eyes of her Majesty. But the Effects of it have been sufficiently felt, and became too bare-fac'd, (together with some of the Tools and Authors of those Designs) to be any longer concealed. However the Tryal at that  
Time



Time went on, and the Sermons of the Doctor both at *St. Paul's* and at *Derby Assizes* were ordered to be burnt; and the celebrated *Oxford Decree*, together with them; which deserves a Remark.

ONE of the Doctrines which that *Decree* condemn'd was this :

' THAT the Sovereignty of *England* is in the Three Estates, King, Lords and Commons, &c.

ANOTHER was this :

' THAT Self Preservation is the Fundamental Law of Nature, and supercedes the Obligations of all others, whensoever they stand in Competition with it.

THE House of Lords taking into Consideration the said Judgment and Decree of the University of *Oxford*, passed in their Convocation, *July 21, 1683*,

IT was Resolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament, ' That the said Judgment and Decree contains in it Positions contrary to the Constitution of this Kingdom, and destructive to the Protestant Succession, as by Law Establish'd. And it was thereupon ordered, that the said Judgment and Decree, printed and published in a Book, entituled, [*An Intire Confutation of Mr. Hoadley's Book of the Original of Government*] shall be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, at the same Time and Place, when and where the Sermons of *Dr. Henry Sacheverell* are order'd to be burnt.'

AT the Rising of this Parliament, the Queen had these Words in her Speech: *For my own Part, as it has pleased GOD to give Success to my Endeavours for the Union of my Kingdoms, which I must ever esteem as one of the greatest Blessings of my Reign, so I hope his Divine Goodness will still continue favourable, and make me the happy Instrument of That yet more durable Union of the Hearts of all my People, in the Bonds of mutual Affection; that so there may remain no other Contention among you, but who shall exceed the other in contributing to advance our present Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession.*

THERE was a great Ferment in the Nation, when the Parliament was dissolved, and a new One chosen. But the Queen in her Speech to her new Parliament, *Nov. 27, 1710*, told them, *That as she was resolved to encourage and support the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd,*  
and

and preserve the British Constitution, according to the Union, so also she would maintain the Indulgence by Law allowed to Scrupulous Consciences. And the Commons in their Address had this Passage, *As we are Fellow Christians, and Fellow Subjects, with the Protestant Dissenters, who are so unhappy as to entertain Scruples against Conformity with our Church, we are desirous and determined to let them quietly enjoy that Indulgence, which the Law hath allow'd them.*

BUT tho' the first Session of this Parliament passed over, without any Motion for the *Occasional Bill*, which had been more than once rejected and exploded in the House of Peers; yet some Time after those before-mentioned Concussions and Disorders that had been sensibly felt many Ways in the Nation, and that a new Ministry had endeavour'd so Artfully to wind themselves into, and to fix themselves in her Majesty's Favour, and to obtain her Countenance: They that had so long before been watching Opportunities for it, now obtained it, and that Bill against Occasional Communion, which was so much longed for by some, and so much dreaded by others, was on Dec. 15, 1711, brought into the House of Peers, and pass'd. The Title was plausible, to preserve the Protestant Religion, and to confirm the Toleration, and farther to secure the Protestant Succession, &c. But the Body of the Bill was the same as had been so often rejected before, and that upon such solid Reasons. It must be own'd, some Concessions are therein granted to the *Dissenters*, but not to be compar'd with the Contempt to which it exposes them.

THIS Breach into the former Act of Indulgence and Toleration granted to Protestant *Dissenters* at the Revolution, and which her Majesty had graciously promised, since frequently from the Throne, should be preserved inviolably, did not stop here with this Act against Occasional Conformity, but some Time after there was a Bill brought into the House of Commons, May 21, 1714, by Sir Wm. Windham, to prevent the Growth of *Schism*, &c. On the 26th they went thro' the Bill, and with several Amendments it was order'd to be engross'd, and on June 1st pass'd the House.

IT may easily be conceived what Alarm and Jealousies this Bill, which was brought in so surprizingly, and mov'd with so great Expedition in the House of Com-

mons, occasioned not only to the *Dissenters* themselves, but even to many sober and judicious Conformists, who knew in what Forge this Engine first was contrived, and consider'd by whom and with what Spirit and Views it was carried on; and not only the *Dissenters* but Foreign Protestants represented the Hardships and Inconveniences of such a Law. The first remarkable Paper that was published about it, was a Letter to a Member of Parliament, relating to the said Bill: The *Dissenters*, laid before the House of Lords, the Reasons that might be urged against it; and the *Dutch* and *French* Protestant Churches, that have been in *England* from the Beginning of the Reformation by King *Edward VI*, laid their Case also before the Lords, who thought fit to proceed with the maturest Deliberation, in an Affair of so great Importance, and put off the Reading the Bill till *June* the 4th.

THE chief Sticklers for it were Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *Wm. Windham*, Mr. *Collier*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, who spoke with very great Virulence and Bitterness, not only on the Behalf of the Bill, but against any that express'd their Dislike, or stood in the Way of it.

BUT the Bill was by many worthy Members opposed and argued against, as that which had a Tendency to raise as great a Persecution against Protestants, as was suffered by the Primitive Christians under the Heathens, and even under *Julian* the Apostate. It was urged, it would of Course occasion a Foreign Education, and tend thereby to exhaust the Kingdom of Part of its Treasure, and fill the Minds of Young Men with Prejudices against their own Country; and many other Reasons were urged against it: But whoever got the better in Point of Reasoning, it was carried by a great Majority, and pass'd that House; as it afterwards did the House of Peers, being carried at last there by 8 Voices, after it had been with very great Learning and Judgment argued against by many of the Lords, who were, no less than any other, heartily concerned for the Protestant Interest.

IT was urged, that this Bill would be so far from answering the Title and seeming Intention of it, that it was likely to have a quite contrary Effect, and prove equally pernicious both to Church and State: That instead of preventing *Schism*, and enlarging the Pale of the Church, it tended to introduce *Ignorance*, and its inseparable Attendants;



tendants, *Superstition* and *Irreligion*: That in many Places both Reading, Writing, and Grammar Schools were chiefly supported by the *Dissenters*; so that the suppressing them would be a Means to suppress the Reading of the Holy Scriptures: That while our Enemies were prosecuting their Design to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and such Practices used, not only secretly but openly, to impose a *Papish* Pretender on us, it seem'd strange such a Bill should be brought in so manifestly tending to divide *Protestants*, to weaken their Interests, and hasten their Ruin: That it seem'd strange they should call that *Schism* in *England*, which is the Establish'd Religion in *Scotland*; and that it was directly against the Rule of the Gospel, which is to *do unto others as we would be done unto*. It was also said, it was injurious to the *Queen*, in Regard to the Solemn Declaration she had made from the Throne, that she would inviolably maintain the *Toleration*, which this Bill visibly struck at; and took Notice of the fatal Consequences of persecuting the *Dissenters* formerly, and the ill Effects of Persecution in general were represented and urged: That it was a barbarous Law, which depriv'd Parents of their Natural Right of educating their own Children; and that it was observed both from History and Experience, that all the Persecutions that had been rais'd in *England*, against Persons under the Pretence of *Schismatics*, originally proceeded from and tended to favour *Popery*. But the said Bill, with some Amendments, at last pass'd also in the House of Lords. Of the said Lords 33 enter'd and sign'd their Protest against it.

AND thus the *Dissenters* after Fifty Years Exclusion from the Publick Churches by the Act of *Uniformity*, and half of that Time expos'd to great Rigours and Severities, tho' during the other Part of it, they have had more Liberty, yet still remain under a Brand, excluded the Service of the State, and from those Priviledges, which as free-born *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, and such as have all along manifested their Affection and Fidelity to the Government, they have been justly entitled to. Consciences truly Scrupulous, have indeed still their Liberty, in the general, which they are truly thankful for; tho' with the Enjoyment of that Liberty, they have been since (of late) abridg'd and streighten'd in some of the

most Tender Branches of their Civil Rights, which even Nature itself has given them, the Instruction and Education of their own Children; and they that would be capable of maintaining their Families, that are otherwise destitute, by any Places in the Government, or capacitated for any Office of Trust in it, must quit the Meetings, since that Act took Place (*March 25, 1712.*) And thus they that in all Times and Changes have adher'd to the true Interest of their Country, must by such Means as those still be Sufferers: But it's hoped that even those that have been most warm and active to promote these Pressures upon the *Dissenters*, may in Time have other Thoughts of these Matters; and that they may yet come to such a Temper, as may make them willing to consider of these Things more like Men and Christians.

BY what Ways and Means those Designs, which had been so often disappointed, were at last brought about; and under whose Agency and Management both those Bills pass'd at length so currently, even with some who all along had an Opinion of their pernicious Tendency: And whether either of those Bills in the Event have answer'd the Designs and Intentions, which they pretended, who were the great Agents in them: What have been the Consequences of these Steps to the *Dissenters*, and also to the Church, and to the State; to Religion, and to that Christian Charity, which is so great an Ornament to it, and which all who have any Value for Religion ought to have a Tender Concern for: How many Persons and Families have been Sufferers both by the former, and might be by the latter of these Bills: How much the *Papists*, as well as other Enemies to the Government, rejoyced at them, and what Advantages they gave them (who are never backward to improve such Opportunities) to compass their Designs; must be left to be consider'd by those who (by the good Providence of an Infinitely Wise and Gracious GOD) are now to our great Comfort and Satisfaction, to be the Judges of it; who we hope and pray may, under the Divine Guidance and Blessing upon their Endeavours, become the Healers of our Breaches, and of those unnatural and inhumane Divisions, that have with much Rancour and Virulency been so long kept up and somented amongst us,

THE



THE  
DECLARATION  
OF  
King CHARLES II  
ABOUT  
RELIGION,

October the 25th, 1660.

CHARLES R.

HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in  
the Peace of the Church, &c.

I. WE do in the first Place declare Our Purpose and  
Resolution is, and shall be, to promote the *Power of God-  
liness*, to encourage the Exercise of Religion both Publick  
and Private, and to take Care that the Lord's Day be  
applied to Holy Exercises, without unnecessary Diver-  
tisements; and that insufficient, negligent and scandalous  
Ministers be not permitted in the Church. And that as



the present *Bishops* are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings during these late Distempers, and of great and known Sufficiency of Learning; so We shall take especial Care to prefer no Man to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Virtue and Piety, who may be themselves the best Examples to those who are to be govern'd by them: And We shall expect and provide the best We can, that the *Bishops* be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often Preach themselves in some Church of their Diocess, except they be hinder'd by Sickness or other bodily Infirmities, or some other justifiable Occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent.

2. BECAUSE the Diocesses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, We will appoint such a Number of *Suffragan Bishops* in every Diocess, as shall be sufficient for the due Performance of their Work.

3. No Bishop shall Ordain or Exercise any Part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the *Presbyters*: And no Chancellors, Commissaries, or Officials, as such, shall execute any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction in these Cases, *viz.* Excommunication, Absolution, or wherein any of the Ministry are concerned, with Reference to their Pastoral Charge. However, Our Intent and Meaning is, to uphold and maintain the Profession of the *Civil Law*, so far and in such Matters, as it hath been of Use and Practice within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, Albeit, as to Excommunication Our Will and Pleasure is, that no Chancellor, Commissary or Official, shall Decree any Sentence of Excommunication or Absolution, or be Judges in those Things wherein any of the Ministry are concerned, as is aforesaid; Nor shall the Archdeacon Exercise any Jurisdiction without the Advice and Assistance of six Ministers of his Archdeaconry, whereof Three to be nominated by the Bishop, and Three by the Election of the major Part of the *Presbyters* within the Archdeaconry.

4. TO the End that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Council and Assistance to the  
Bishops,

Bishops, both in *Ordination* and the other *Offices* mention'd before, We will take Care that those Preferments be given to the most Learned and Pious Presbyters of the Diocess. And moreover, that an equal Number to those of the Chapter, of the most Learned, Pious, and Discreet Presbyters of the same Diocess, annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Diocess present at such Elections, shall be always advising and assisting together with those of the Chapter, in all *Ordinations*, and in every Part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, and at all other Solemn and Important Actions in the Exercise of the *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction, wherein any of the Ministry are concerned; provided that at all such Meetings the Number of the Ministers so elected, and those present of the Chapter, shall be equal, and not exceed one the other; and that to make the Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding Number be withdrawn, that the most Ancient may take Place: Nor shall any Suffragan Bishop Ordain or Exercise the fore-mention'd Offices and Acts of Spiritual Jurisdiction, but with the Advice and Assistance of a sufficient Number of the most Judicious and Pious Presbyters, annually chosen, as aforesaid, within his Precincts. And Our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the Bishop and his aforesaid Presbytery, at the four Set Times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that Purpose.

5. WE will take Care that *Confirmation* be rightly and solemnly performed, by the Information and with the Consent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of GOD, according as is express'd in the Considerations of the Rubrick before the Catechism: And that all possible Diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly express'd in the Rubrick, and more fully in the Canons; provided there be Place for due Appeals to the

Superior Power. But besides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every Rural Dean (those Deans as heretofore, to be nominated by the Bishop of the Diocese) together with three or four Ministers of that Deanery, chosen by the major Part of all the Ministers within the same, shall meet once in every Month, to receive such Complaints as shall be presented to them by the Ministers or Church Wardens of the respective Parishes; and also to compose all such Differences betwixt Party and Party, as shall be offer'd to them by Way of Arbitration; and to convince Offenders, and reform all such Things as they shall find amiss by their Pastoral Reproofs and Admonitions, if they may be so Reformed: And such Matters as they cannot by this Pastoral and Persuasive Way compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and presented to the Bishop; at which Meeting any other Ministers of that Deanery may, if they please, be present. Moreover, the Rural Dean and his Assistants are, in their respective Divisions, to see that the Children and the younger Sort be carefully instructed by the respective Ministers of every Parish in the Grounds of the Christian Religion, and be able to give a good Account of their Faith and Knowledge, and also of their Christian Conversation conformable thereunto, before they be Confirmed by the Bishop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

6. NO Bishop shall Exercise any Arbitrary Power, or do or impose any Thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Law of the Land.

7. WE are very glad to find, that all with whom We have confer'd, do in their Judgments approve a *Liturgy*, or Set Form of Publick Worship, to be Lawful; which in Our Judgment, for the Preservation of Unity and Uniformity, We conceive to be very necessary. And though We do conceive the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by Law Established, to be the best We have seen, &c. Since We find some Exceptions made against several Things therein, We will appoint an equal Number of Learned Divines of both Perswasions to review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary,



necessary, and some Additional Forms (in the Scripture Phrase as near as may be) suited unto the several Parts of Worship, and that it be left to the Ministers Choice to use one or other at his Discretion. In the mean Time, and until this be done, altho' We do heartily wish and desire, that the Ministers in their several Churches, because they dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the Use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those Parts against which there can be no Exception; which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Distinction which We do much Labour and Desire to remove: Yet in Compassion to divers of Our good Subjects, who scruple the Use of it as now it is, Our Will and Pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed, as aforesaid.

8. LASTLY, concerning Ceremonies, which have administered so much Matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wisdom and Authority of the Church, for Edification and the Improvement of Piety; We shall say no more, than that We have the more Esteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, &c.

AND therefore Our Present Consideration and Work is, to gratify the Private Consciences of those who are grieved with the Use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, &c.

WE shall leave all Decisions and Determinations of that Kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a National Synod, which shall be duly called; after a little Time, and a mutual Conversation between Persons of different Perswasions, hath mollified those Distempers, abated those Sharpnesses, and extinguished those Jealousies, which make us unfit for those Consultations. And upon such Advice we shall use our utmost Endeavour, that such Laws may be established, as may best provide for the Peace of the Church and State; provided that none shall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, tho

tho' they do not use the Gesture of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving.

**I**N the mean Time, out of Compassion and Compliance towards those who would forbear the *Cross* in Baptism, We are content that no Man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it. But if any Parent desire to have his Child Christned according to the Form used, and the Minister will not use the Sign, it shall be lawful for that Parent to procure another Minister to do it: And if the proper Minister shall refuse to omit that Ceremony of the Cross, it shall be lawful for the Parent, who would not have his Child so baptized, to procure another Minister to do it, who will do it according to his Desire.

**N**O Man shall be compelled to bow at the Name of **J E S U S**, or suffer in any Degree, for not doing of it, without reproaching those, who, out of their Devotion, continue that ancient Ceremony of the Church.

**F**OR the Use of the Surplice, we are contented that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least Degree for wearing or not wearing it. Provided that this Liberty do not extend to our own Chappel, Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of Our Universities, but that the several Statutes and Customs for the Use thereof in the said Places, be there observed as formerly.

**A**ND because some Men, otherwise Pious and Learned, say, They cannot Conform unto the *Subscription* required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, We are Content, and it is Our Will and Pleasure (so they take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*) that they shall receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and shall be permitted to Exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without the said Subscription or Oath of *Canonical Obedience*: And, moreover, that no Persons in the Universities shall for the Want of such Subscription be hindred in the taking their Degrees.

*Lastly,*

Lastly, THAT none be judged to forfeit his Presentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it upon the Statute of the Thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chap. 12, so he read and declare his Assent to all the *Articles* of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in the Book of Articles in the said Statute mentioned.

IN a Word, We do again renew what We have formerly said in Our *Declaration* from *Breda*, for the Liberty of Tender Consciences, that no Man shall be disquieted or call'd in Question for Differences of Opinions in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And if any have been disturbed in that Kind since Our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of Ours.

TO Conclude, and in this Place to explain what We mentioned before, and said in Our Letter to the House of Commons from *Breda*, That we hoped in due Time Our Self to propose somewhat for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, that will satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our Care and Our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring Disadvantage to it: We do conjure all Our loving Subjects to acquiesce in, and submit to this Our *Declaration*, concerning those *Differences* which have so much disquieted the Nation at Home, and given such Offence to the Protestant Churches Abroad, and brought such Reproach upon the Protestant Religion in General from the Enemies thereof, &c.

AND let Us all endeavour and emulate each other in these Endeavours, to Countenance and Advance the Protestant Religion Abroad, which will be best done by Supporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the best Reformed Protestant Church at Home; and which once freed from the Calumnies and Reproaches it hath undergone from these late ill Times, will be the best Shelter for those Abroad, which will, by that Countenance, both be the better protected against their Enemies, and be the more easily induced to compose the Differences amongst themselves, which give their  
Enemies

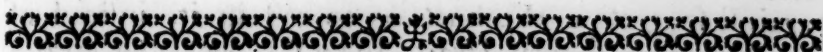


Enemies more Advantage against them: And We hope and expect, that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any such Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in such Manner upon the Affections of the People, as may dispose them to an ill Opinion of Us and the Government, and to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, which, if all Men will in their several Vocations endeavour to preserve with the same Affection and Zeal We Our Self will do, all Our good Subjects will, by GOD's Blessing upon Us, enjoy as great a Measure of Felicity, as this Nation hath ever done, and which We shall constantly labour to procure for them, as the greatest Blessing GOD can bestow upon Us in this World.

*Given at Our Court at Whitehall, this Twenty-fifth Day of October, 1660.*



OF



O F

# CATHEDRAL WORSHIP.

WITH A

Short Account of the *Rise and Antiquity*  
of it.

**A**LL Slightness and Formality in Religious Worship, being of so pernicious a Tendency, leading to Hypocrisy, Atheism, and Prophaneness, cannot be too much watch'd and guarded against; and all those Ways of Worship may be justly suspected to contribute thereto, which have least in them of Divine Institution, but are filled up instead thereof, with Humane Inventions, and with a Theatrical Pomp and noisy Ostentation. Such Ways of Worship represent the Great and Holy GOD, (who is a Spirit, and will be worshipp'd in Spirit and in Truth, who calls for the most Inward Spiritual Worship of the Heart, and to be sanctified thereby of all that Approach to him in every Duty, and especially in those of his own most immediate Worship) as if he could be put off and pleas'd with the Ceremonious and Complemental Addresses of his Creatures, which are in themselves but meer Air and Shew, without the real and Spiritual Worship and Intention of the Heart and Affections. As these would be Nauseous to our Fellow Creatures, and Men of Sense, when they observe it, how much more must they needs be to the All-wise and Heart-searching GOD. And though Men of Thought and Understanding, who either through the Tincture of Education, or for Fear of Singularity, may fall in with such

such a Pompous Way of Worship, which yet they do not themselves much admire, and may be better guarded against so gross a Weakness as to rest in it, instead of the Devotion of their Hearts to GOD; yet how great a Snare may this be to others who are more Ignorant, and use their Eyes and Ears more than their Reason in Things they are unaccustomed to; and therefore when they find the Divine Worship so contrived, as to gratify their Senses only, instead of elevating their Understandings, and warming their Hearts and Affections, they will be very apt to rest in the former, and to overlook the latter, whereby the great End of their Worship is lost. And though all Decency in Divine Worship is to be regarded, and all Irreverence out of a Pretence to Spirituality therein, is to be abhorred by any that are Serious Christians, yet we have great Need to be well guarded against too great a Prevalence of the Sensitive Part, lest it degenerate into meer Form and Superstition. The *Cathedral Worship* in this respect is so far from being to be imitated and propos'd as a Pattern to others, that it is far out-gone by that of all other Inferiour Parochial Churches.

NEITHER is the Antiquity and Authority of this Cathedral Way of Worship to be boasted of, more than some other Part of our Ceremonious Worship is, which has been conveyed down to us from the Church of *Rome*, and which prevailed not, till that Church began in other Respects also to be corrupted, which was between the *Third* and *Fourth* Century, and came not to Perfection till *Gregory* the Great's Time; but it was warmly opposed by sundry Persons of great Worth and Eminence for a long Time before, at, and after the Time of the *Western Reformation*. And there does not appear to have been the least Footing of the gawdy Worship of our Cathedrals in the Christian Church, either in the Time of any of the Apostles, or for some after Ages, those Primitive Writers being wholly silent in it; as we find the Industrious *Dr. Cumber* also is as to the Time it began, who yet hath lately appear'd so great an Advocate for it; and the Ignorance of those Writers of it, appears to have been the most probable Reason of their Silence concerning it. Even after the Emperor *Constantin's* embracing the Christian Faith, which  
might



might have given a fair Opportunity for it, yet still we hear nothing of that.

THE first certain Hint that can be fixed on in Ecclesiastical Antiquity of Cathedral Chanting, is in the Church of *Antioch*, during the Administration of *Leontius*, an *Arrian*, then Bishop of that See, to which he was advanced *Anno Dom. 347.* in whose Time *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, who were both engaged in a Monastick Life, first set on Foot this Service in some Separate Assemblies, (tho' they were both of them Lay-Men, and not in Orders) it was said to be done at that Time, in order to the enticing the People from the *Arians*, and keeping the Vulgar thereby from running after them, by whom they were so much in Danger to be seduc'd. But certainly Truth might better have made its own Way, to which it can be no great and lasting Service to gain it. Profelytes by any such unwarrantable and enticing Methods. And it may be very much doubted whether those who are attracted meerly by a Pompous Worship, so gratifying to the Senses, are like to prove any great Credit to that Way they fall in with; And whether the Worship itself so turned into an Artificial Contrivance, (should it Universally prevail) would not transform Religion into meer Mechanism, is much to be doubted. However, of this, it appears, *Flavianus* was then the great Occasion, a Person who though so commendably Zealous in that Opposition he made to *Arrius*, and his Adherents, yet in other Respects was one of no great Credit in the Church, he standing branded himself in Ecclesiastical History, for the Breach of a most solemn Oath, and a notorious Perjury, for which he was then deservedly detested by all the Western Bishops, \* But this Person, tho' so loose in Morals, was yet very fond of Ceremonies; and the Prevalence of Antiphonal Singing, in so great a City as *Antioch*, a Place of great Resort, and Influence upon other Places, much furthered its spreading in other Parts.

Theod. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 2. cap. 24.

\* Sozom. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 7. c. 3. & 11.

TOWARDS the latter End of the Fourth Century, and the Beginning of the Fifth, through the Ignorance of some, the Negligence of others, the Haughtiness and Stiffness of others, and a spreading Love of Pomp and Magni-

Magnificence, a Variety of Corruptions crept into the Church, which in Process of Time rose to a greater Height than could have been at first imagined, by those who had the greatest Hand in introducing them. The Fondness of Reliques and Pilgrimages, the undue Admiration of Celibacy, the Invocation of Saints, the setting up Images in Churches, the over great Veneration of the Cross, and Prayers for the Dead, which about this Time had their Rise; and the Service of the Quire, which (together with the other) gained so much about the same Time, [how honest and laudable soever were the Intentions of the first Patrons of it] yet by Degrees came to be so managed, as to render ridiculous the most solemn Worship; and did it Universally prevail, it would bid fair for jutting all Serious, and really Divine and Spiritual Worship out of the World.

THE RE was at Rome from the first Rise of Christianity, a great Fondness of Pomp and Magnificence observable; yet that City was not the first in admitting of Cathedral Service (some other Cities were before it.) But when once it was received there, it was quickly so improved that no Time seemed lost while it remained unknown: This was about the Year 380, and then Antiphonal Singing was so cultivated there, that it made very great Advances under the Conduct of several Popes successively. Several Emendations, Augmentations, and gradual Alterations of the Cathedral Service there was in the Roman Hands; but in the Time of Gregory the Great, about Anno Dom. 620, it was compleated and called, *Cantus Gregorianus*, the Gregorian Cant. It was the same Pope Gregory, who introduced it into this Nation, by Augustin the Monk, who at his first coming found so great Opposition to it in the British Clergy, that he was quite at a loss: They were not to be perswaded to forsake their own received Rites of Worship, to embrace that and some other Romish Trumpery, which till then was new to them; And amongst other Things, their new model'd and much admired Cathedral Service; Lib. 2. cap. 2. whereupon (as Bede in his Ecclesiastical History acquaints us) this Augustin occasioned the Slaughter of Twelve hundred of them at once; the Remembrance of which one would think should damp the Admirers of this Pompous Service, considering not only

only from whence it was at first received from so corrupt a Church as then *Rome* was, but also what Means were used for the Propagation of it, and that even this should abate their Fondness of the Quire, which was founded in so much Blood.

HOWEVER, yet our Old *Britains* kept their Ground; tho' *Augustin* by this Means had got the better of them, they would not yield to conform to the *Roman* Custom, so much as at the Paschal Solemnity: But about the Year 670, Pope *Vitalian* had better Success by sending *Theodore*, a *Græc* Con-  
*slan*, into *England*, to fill up the See of *Platina* in *Canterbury*, by whose Subtily and Ar-  
*Vita* Vitali-  
 tifice the Point was gain'd; and by a  
*Synod* which he held at *Hartford*, the  
*Easter* Controversy was first settled to the Pope's Mind, and Way made for the Introduction of the Cathedral Service with all its Pomp. The same Pope *Vitalian* (as *Platina* relates in his Life) was also the Introducer of Organs into Divine Worship here in *Eng and*; and some Time after this, when *Agatha* came into the Pontifical Chair, one *Benedict* who had built a Monastery here, went to *Rome* to be confirm'd in his Abbacy; and at his Return from thence, the Pope sent one with him, who was chief Singer at *St Peter's* in *Rome*, who introduced into his new built Monastery the whole Service that was used at *St. Peter's*, and taught his Singers the Art of Chanting in Conformity to the *Roman* Method, about the Year 679; which, as is before mention'd, is the earliest certain Date of the Cathedral Service in this Nation. *Rome* had then set up for the Mother Church, and tho' herself became so corrupted, yet with great Zeal she spread an Uniformity of Service amongst all her reputed Votaries, till in Time she had made them as bad as herself.

AGAINST which, to omit the various Constitutions of several National Councils about this Way of Service in the Church, yet if they were consulted, there would appear by several Instances a Sense even among the Clergy at that Time, as bad as it was, of the Corruptions which prevailed in it: And notwithstanding Dr. *Comber's* Assertion as to the Dissenters, it  
 may easily appear, there are a great many  
 that are none of the least Serious and Judi-  
 cious

Of Liturgies,  
 in 8vo. p. 88.



cious Christiars, who are in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and never were otherwise, who yet are as much against the Cathedral Service as any of the *Dissenters*: And whatever Dr. *Comber* asserts, that the Objections against it are of so late a Date, it will by what follows be manifestly evinced, that this Way of Worship hath met with Opposition ever since it appeared in the World, and been objected against in every Age. It was excepted against as a Novelty not only by the *Neocæsarian* Clergy before-mentioned, not long after its first Appearance; but ever since by Persons of the greatest Solidity and Judgment. And tho' so good a Man as St. *Augustine* himself, at first mistaking the Natural working of his Passions thro' the Influence of Musick, for the fervent Workings of Devotion, (which is to be fear'd is a common Mistake now among those that frequently attend the Cathedral Service) yet afterwards he was not ashamed to change his Judgment, witness his Book of *Retractions*, and being sensible of his Danger, censured himself severely for being so tickled with sensual Delight in Divine Worship, and heartily blessed GOD for being delivered from that Snare. In his Confessions, *Lib. 10. cap. 33.* he acknowledges he was then more moved with the pompous Part of Singing than the Thing Sung, and that he had given more Respect to Musical Delights in the Church than was seemly, to which he was very prone: Which *Objection* may be of the more Force, as coming from so noted a *Father* as he was, tho' slighted more when made by others who stand upon a Level with them. It has been likewise censured all

Hier. epist. ad along by other Persons of Note and Eminence in the Church, as St. *Hierom*, *Tho. Rustic. Catal. test. ver. l. 18.* *Aquinas*, *Wickliff*, *Erasmus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Zuinglius*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Lindanus*, *John Calvin*, *Card. Cajetan*, &c. they express their Dislike and declare against it; as will appear in their several Writings, some of which are here refer'd to; to

<sup>40</sup> instance only in a few of them, *Zuinglius* *Zuinglij Aët. Disp. 2. pag. 106.* (who was the first Reformer of the *Helvetian* Church) says, That the Ecclesiastical Chanting and Roaring in our Temples, (which are scarce understood by the Priests themselves) is a most foolish and vain Abuse, and a most per-

pernicious Hindrance to Piety : Nay, Cardinal *Cajetan* himself, as great an Enemy as he was to the Reformers, yet agrees with them in this, and declares it may be easily gathered from 1 Cor. 14. ' That 'tis much more agreeable to the Apostle's Mind, that the Sacred Offices should be distinctly recited, and intelligibly performed in the Church, without Musical and Artificial Harmony, than so managed with Musical Organs, Quavers, and absurd Repetitions of effected Singers, which seem as it were devised on purpose to darken the Sense, that no one should be able to understand what is Sung ' *Polydore Virgil* writes to the same De invent. purpose, ' The Chanters, says he, make a Rer. l. 6. c. 2. Noise in the Church, and nothing is heard there but a Voice, and others present rest satisfied with That, no way regarding the Meaning of the Words, and so it is that among the Multitude, all the Esteem of Divine Worship seems to rely upon the Chanters, (or Choristers) altho' generally no Sort of Men are lighter or more wicked : And speaking of the *Quire*, he says, I may say that these are brought into our Ceremonies from the Old Heathens, who were wont to sacrifice with *Symphony*, as *Livy* witnesseth, *Lib. 9.* And *Lindanus*, Bishop of *Ruremond*, continues in the same Judgment, and bitterly complains of the Musicians and Singers that Lindan. panoplæ. l. 5. c. 7. have possess'd the Church, whose Singing is nothing else but a Theatrical Confusion of Sounds, which rather tends to avert the Minds of Hearers from that that is good, than to raise them to GOD, and declares, that tho' he had oft been present, and attentive as well as he could be to what was Sung, he yet could hardly understand any Thing; the whole Service was so fill'd with Repetitions, and a Confusion of different Voices, &c. And he Praises Those who had expell'd this Sort of Musick out of their Churches, as a Prophane Hindrance of Divine Worship, and a Device of Humane Vanity, rather than those who admitted and continued it, for gaining the Applause of the light and frothy.' And now where this Service is manag'd in the same manner (bating the Language) both in the Popish Churches and our Cathedrals, wherein are the same Things they there

there excepted against, their Objections have an equal Force respecting either the one or the other.

AND to conclude, That which may be of great Weight among Protestants and Reformed Christians, is the declared Judgment of a Set of as valuable Men as this Nation perhaps could ever have afforded; for consulting together about a Matter of so great Moment: 'Tis that of the Thirty Two Commissioners in the Reign of King Henry VIII, and Edward VI, who were appointed by Act of Parliament to examine all *Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances*, Provincial and Synodal, and to draw up such Laws Ecclesiastical as should be universally observed. The same Thing was also reviv'd in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, but quickly dropt, and (says the Revd. Bishop Burnet) to the great Prejudice of our Church it hath kept ever since: Some of the Persons deputed for this purpose, were *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*; *Ponet*, Bishop of *Winchester*; the Bishops of *Ely*, *Exeter*, *Gloucester*, *Bath*, *Rochester*, *Lincoln*, &c. These Persons were the Flower of the *English* Nation for Sense and Learning, both Sacred and Polite Literature: Their Judgment herein see in their Tract since published under the Title of (*Reformatio Legum Anglicanarum*). Now in this

Discourse of theirs under that Head \*, when  
 \* De Div'n. they come to treat of the Vocal and Instru-  
 Officijs c. 5. mental Musick used in the Cathedral Ser-  
 vice, they plainly declare, *They are for ha-*  
*ving it quite taken away*; and what Pretence can we of  
 this Reformed Church have for so great a Veneration for  
 the first Reformers of it, as some have profess'd; while  
 yet we so zealously defend, and are so eager for retain-  
 ing that in our Worship against which they have so ex-  
 pressly declared their Judgment, that it ought to be to-  
 tally abolish'd and taken away; agreeing therein with  
 the Judgment and Practice of so great a Part of the Re-  
 formed Churches, and indeed with the Practice also of  
 our own throughout this Nation: Except in the Cathed-  
 rals, which are very few, comparatively with other  
 Churches; and in them the Inhabitants of all other Pa-  
 rishes and Parts of the Nation, when they are present at  
 that Worship, have only the Priviledge to perform the  
 Part (in that respect) of *Occasional Conformists*.



